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Norfolk Archaeology:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK,

PUBLISHED BY THE

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.*

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Three Manorial Extents of the Thirteenth Century.

COMMUNICATED BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HUDSON, M.A., F.S.A.,

Hon. Editorial Secretary.

1.—CHANGES IN MANORIAL ECONOMY.

THE general principles which governed the economy of a manor under the feudal system have been so frequently and so fully described¹ that a few introductory words will suffice to sum them up, so far as they are touched upon in this Paper.

A feudal manor was an agricultural organisation centering in a lord who held dominion over the whole, and to whom, in theory, all the land belonged. Some portion of it he held in his own hands, and this was specially called his "demesne." The arable land was divided into common fields, usually three, one of which was used for autumn or winter sowing, another for spring sowing, and the third remained fallow. These fields were held in various ways by the manorial tenants, and even included portions of the lord's own demesne. The holdings were not separate plots, but strips of land scattered about the common fields, the whole being subject

¹ The fullest discussion of the various questions illustrated by these Extents will be found in Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, Oxford, 1892.

to common rules of agriculture, and worked by combined labour of the tenants. In return for their holdings the tenants were bound to cultivate with their own labour the lord's demesne lands, and to supply produce from their own lands towards the maintenance of his household.

There were also pastures, and commons, and woods, over which the lord and his tenants had proportionate rights of pasturage and commonage and pannage, and generally there was more or less waste land which was gradually being brought into cultivation, chiefly at the lord's expense.

In the earliest times the arable lands, or strips, were divided into regular sets of shares. The larger holdings consisted of a plough land of (usually) 120 acres; or half a plough land of 60 acres; or a quarter (called a virgate) of 30 acres. The smaller tenants held shares which differed greatly in size on different manors, containing 6, 8, 10, or 15 acres each.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries very considerable modifications had been taking place in the normal arrangements of a manor. It is in the observation of the working of these changes that documents such as those here presented have a value, not only in their own locality, but also as contributions towards the general history of social and economic progress.

These changes may, in general terms, be summed up under two heads: firstly, the substitution of money payments both for labour services and for rents in kind; secondly, the breaking up of the regular holdings into most irregular, and, in numerous cases, most minute subdivisions. The first of these may be said to have been due to external influences, to economic changes spreading throughout the whole country; while the second sprang rather from within, and perhaps mainly from the growth of population.

The substitution of money for labour was a change which was to the interest both of the lord and the tenant. The lord, who probably owned several manors, wanted money to meet the king's demands for scutage, aids, and other exactions; as well as for his own personal expenses and the supplying of himself and his household with all the improved materials and conveniences which increased facilities for trade and commerce had brought within his reach. Hence the growth of rent-paying tenants. Some of these were freemen¹ whose lands had been drawn into the manorial system by the greater security thus obtained, and by the pressure of Norman government working out its legal and fiscal theories of organisation. Others were emancipated serfs or favourite servants who, as a reward, had obtained a piece of the lord's demesne. Others, again, held lands which had been reclaimed from the waste,² and which the lord claimed the right to deal with as his own. All these freeholders, or holders of free tenements, rendered little else than a money rent for their lands. Again, the "customary" tenants, those who held lands which were bound to certain services, had begun to commute these services for money. Sometimes, apparently, the lord might choose which he would take. But, whether that were so or no, we find in many Manorial Extents every service valued at an equivalent money commutation.³ The growth of towns (in the modern sense of the word) and markets increased the facilities for turning produce into money. A "villain" could sell his produce in the

¹ On the possible origin of various kinds of free holdings in connection with a manor, see Vinogradoff, p. 324 et seq.

² The technical name for these reclaimed pieces was "*terra assarta*," "*novum assartum*."

³ It must be remembered that the value set against a labour is not a wage to the worker, but the forfeit payable to the lord in lieu of the work due to him by custom.

neighbouring town, settle his obligations with his lord on an understood scale of payment, and for the rest be practically his own master. There remained, it is true, certain feudal obligations of heriots, reliefs, merchet,¹ and arbitrary fines which at times bore hardly upon him, but these were not incidents of his ordinary life.

Turning to the other change, the subdivision of the older and more equalised holdings, we may easily see how the money-paying tendency would act in this direction also. The older system, still in evidence on the manorial records, took no notice of the varying size of families. A childless man and his wife might hold 10 acres, and his neighbour with several able-bodied sons might have a similar holding. They both came under the same rule of having to do so many autumn works, so much reaping at harvest time and so on. But when money payments began to replace or at least be an alternative for labour services, it was to the lord's interest and that of the tenants to subdivide the holdings. One or another of B.'s sons might well be allowed to take a portion of A.'s holding, which A. could not work alone, and with it a portion of the obligation, expressed in terms of money or labour, so that the lord might call for whichever was most suitable at the time. This seems to be the explanation of a "tenement"² being held by several tenants in small portions. There are also several other indications which will be pointed out as they occur in the rolls, which suggest that the tenants of many small holdings were not cottagers on their own account, but members of families living together, yet having little stocks of their own.

During the thirteenth century the complicated arrangements arising out of these various developments

¹ Payment on the marriage of the tenant's daughter.

² A "tenement" in these documents is always a "holding," not a building, as we speak now.

necessitated the formation of the documents known as Manorial "Extents,"¹ which contain a survey of the whole manor, the character and limits of the lord's demesne, the nature of every separate holding, and the obligations of every tenant in the way of services and works, even to such details as the composition of the loaves which, on certain occasions, the lord was bound to supply.

On one point an Extent does not give directly any explicit information, viz., on the personal status of the tenants. No doubt most of the freeholders would be freemen, and most of the "custumarii" would be "villani" or "nativi" (which words were by this time used almost synonymously by Norman lawyers); but it must not be taken for granted. The obligations were attached rather to the tenement than to the tenant, and certainly many freemen held customary lands, executing the labour services vicariously.

2.—THE THREE ROLLS.

With these introductory remarks on the scope of our enquiry we may turn to our documents:—

(a) The first, which was the original cause of the compilation of this paper, is an "Extent of the Manor of Bradcar in Shropham," made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward I., which year began on November 20th, 1298. The roll is among the documents of the Great Hospital in Norwich, preserved in the City Muniment Room.²

(b) The second is an "Extent of Banham," made in the tenth year of King Edward, which commenced November 20th, 1281. It was analysed some time ago

¹ A good description of the nature of an "Extent" will be found in Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, vol. i. p. 218.

² Case 24, shelf G, p. 77 in Revised Catalogue.

by the Rev. Canon Jessopp, D.D., F.S.A., who has kindly placed his analysis in the hands of the writer.

(c) The third is in the possession of our honorary secretary, Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke, who has been good enough to lend it for comparison with the other two records. It relates to the "Manor of Wykes in Bardwell" in Suffolk. It is not dated, but internal evidence shows that it belongs to the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Not only do the three records thus nearly approach each other in point of date (within about twenty years), but it will be observed that the three manors are not far removed from each other in point of locality, two of them lying in the contiguous hundreds of Shropham and Guiltcross in Norfolk, and the third in the adjoining hundred of Blackbourn just over the border in Suffolk. Nor do they materially differ from each other in agricultural conditions. The differences which we may notice, therefore, may be reasonably attributed rather to the special character of the lordship than to the internal circumstances of the manor.

3.—THE MANOR OF BRADCAR IN SHROPHAM.

It will be well to begin with a short summary of the record of this manor, because its constitution is certainly the simplest of the three.

Freeholders.—After the heading stating that the roll was made on the incoming of John de Coggeshale, the Extent commences with a list of the "libere tenentes" or *Freeholders*. Of these there are no less than 58¹ holding amongst them 289 acres of arable land. By far the

¹ In all these lists of tenants the full number is given, but it is rather the number of separate holdings than of separate persons. Certainly the same person more than once holds two tenements, and sometimes among different classes of tenants.

greater part of this land is held by three, who hold 55, 60, and 60 acres, or 175 acres in all; the remaining fifty-five holding only 114 acres between them, most of them having only very small amounts each. The first of the three large holders, John de Brekles, who also held a foldcourse, turbary, and fishery, all (including the land) being in Brekles Magna, and who had two other small holdings in the hands of sub-tenants in Shropham and Hockham Magna, paid for the whole no more than 6s. per annum, and one halfpenny for scutage. The second, John de Gardino de Hokham, who held a foldcourse as well as his 60 acres in Hokham Magna and Parva, also paid a rent of 6s., but out of a scutage of 20s. he paid 2s. The third large holder, Richard de Snytterton, chaplain, held 60 acres and a foldcourse, all in Snytterton, and paid 4s. rent and 1s. scutage. Nothing is said in the case of either of these three tenants about suit of court. Their connection, therefore, with the manor appears to be a very favourable one for them as compared, for instance, with Thomas Hood (6) who also pays a rent of 4s., though holding only five acres.

The other fifty-two freeholders have such various holdings, many of them very small, and pay such various rents that it seems impossible to formulate their position in the manor. At the close of this list of freeholders are the names of thirty-two persons, mostly occurring on the list, who are bound, if they have a plough, to plough for the lord twice a year with as many beasts as they use on their own lands. It is presumed that the lord had some means of enforcing this service when he needed it, for it is added that "although they do not plough, they shall give nothing." With this exception, they rendered scarcely anything but rent. Nothing is said about suit of court.

Molmen.—After the Freeholders comes a class of tenants

distinguished as "Molmen,"¹ who, as their name implies, made some money commutation for the worst kind of servile work. There were eighteen of these tenants, and they held 71 acres. Technically they were classed with "the other" customary tenants. Their advantage over the others consisted in their being free from all *winter* or regular works. They were bound to various occasional works in the summer and autumn. One of them, at least, had to serve the offices of reeve and harvestman, and they all paid rent for their lands. In reference to the nature of their money commutation it may be as well to mention first the remaining class of tenants.

Customary Tenants.—These were subject to the full obligations of villainage. There were, however, only seven of them, holding in all 54 acres. With one exception their holdings were exactly equal, six of them having 8 acres each, the seventh having 6 acres. All of them were bound to exactly the same services, including the whole of the so-called "winter" works, which were certain regular works between Michaelmas and August. The other works they shared almost equally with the "Molmen." Now the holdings of the molmen in no case exceeded those of the "custumarii." Four of them held the normal 8 acres; four more held half the normal amount, 4 acres; one had 6 acres; the remaining nine held irregular and even very small holdings. Almost every tenant in both classes is said to have a "messuage" in addition to the land. It appears, therefore, that the exemption from the winter works constituted the distinctive feature of the molmen's status, and we should expect to find an equivalent increase in their rents. It is not quite easy to estimate this because, as most frequently happens, there is so little regularity about the rents. The rents of the six customary tenants who

¹ From "mal," a rent or payment.—Vinogradoff, p. 183.

hold 8 acres each vary from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 11½d. Three of the four molmen who have similar holdings pay 1s. 4d., 1s. 8½d., and 2s. 4d. The fourth of these is the first on the list of molmen, and he pays only 8d. Of him it is said that he has to serve as reeve and "messor." Possibly this obligation is intended to apply to him alone, and his rent and services are reduced in consequence. The number of the winter works was forty-two, and each was valued at ½d. The equivalent commutation for a molman would be 1s. 9d., but it can hardly be said that this increase of rent is apparent on the surface.

There is one other consideration in respect to works which were incumbent on both classes alike. In the case of the molman, it is plainly within his right to pay the specified money and not do the work if he pleases. In the case of the customary tenants this option only relates to certain works, and not to the rest. On the whole, therefore, it seems probable that the transference of a man from the class of "custumarii" to that of "molmen" was not exactly due to an agreement to pay an equivalent commutation for labour in the form of increased rent. Varying circumstances (as in the case of the small freeholders) must have governed each case, the result being the same—escape from the burdensome winter works and also greater option to escape by payment from occasional works in the summer.

On quitting the survey of the tenants on this manor we cannot help observing the extremely small proportion of them who were still subject to the full burden of pure villainage.

The Lord's Demesne.—The extent concludes with a very short statement as to the demesne. Besides other things, which need not here be noticed, it contained 301½ acres of arable land. The ploughing on these acres seems to

have been effected by the labour of the freeholders twice a year, as mentioned above, and of both the other classes of tenants, who were bound by a similar obligation. If the voluntary work of the molmen and the enforced work of the "custumarii" did not suffice for all else that was required it must have been supplemented by paid labour.

4.—THE MANOR OF BANHAM.

The Demesne.—This manor presents some features differing considerably from that of Bradcar. It begins with an interesting statement as to the franchises attached to the lordship, which was held of the Earl of Gloucester for the third part of a knight's fee. The demesne comprised many valuable elements, but the arable land actually kept in the lord's hands was only 39½ acres. It seems, however, that some "demesne" land was held by freeholders.

Freeholders.—The tenants on this manor are divided into the same three classes as before, but not by any means in the same proportion. The most remarkable feature is the very small "freehold" element, contrasting sharply with its large representation at Bradcar and Bardwell. Only seven tenants are so described, and of these one held customary land. Their total amount of land was 211 acres, or, deducting the 28 acres of customary land, 183 acres. Of these, 128 (described as being of the lord's demesne) were held by Sir Robert de Tateshale on the sole service of a rent of 2s., which is entered among the rents of the freeholders. William de Lirling held 40 acres in four pieces (and therefore probably not in the common fields). For this he was bound to somewhat onerous services, especially the obligation to "go on the lord's business throughout the whole of England." Another freeholder had 10 acres in the "field of Banham,"

and paid 4s. 2d. and rendered services of suit of court. Three other holdings were very small. The seventh tenant, William atte Water, who is enrolled as a freeholder, is quite distinguished from the rest. He holds customary land (28 acres), has to render customary labour services, and his rent of 2s. 6d. is entered with those of the *custumarii*. He must at the lord's will serve as reeve, woodward, or harvestman. He is not, however, bound to week-work. Another noticeable circumstance is that in one of these free holdings half an acre of land is held by "Hugo Fresceint *nativus domini*," who, it is stated, "*bought* it of William Hert, a freeman of the lord," charged with a rent of 1s. 6d.

Custumarii.—These follow immediately after the Freeholders. They are thirty-two in number, and hold 244 acres of arable land. There is not, however, the same equality in their shares as in those of the corresponding tenants at Bradcar. The first on the list holds 21 acres, the second 18, two others 15, and some only 2. As, however, seven of them hold 7 acres each, and five others multiples of 7, we may perhaps conclude that there had been at one time an equal division on the basis of 7 acres, the more so as the 28 acres of customary land held by William atte Water among the freeholders follow the same rule. In this connection an observation may be made on the *regular* agricultural labours required of these tenants. The typical tenant, John Richer, who is the example for many others, is bound to do one work per week, from Michaelmas till August 1st. These week-works of course correspond with the "winter works" of the Bradcar Roll. There each tenant was to do forty-two such works. In the Bardwell Extent, which follows this, the prescribed number will be found to be forty. Now, at Banham, John Richer maintained that the equivalent money value of this obligation was 14d. As the value of such a work

is given on all three manors as $\frac{1}{3}d.$, this would allow for only twenty-eight works, which is just two-thirds of the forty-two. Unfortunately, just where the counter estimate of the lord's steward is given, the roll is defaced. There is, however, further on in the roll a statement of the total amount of these week-works as being 1462, which for thirty-two tenants would give rather more than forty-five for each. A more probable explanation of the total is this. The full number of weeks comprised in the period from Michaelmas to August was reckoned as forty-four, and although three weeks, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide were exempted, so that the actual number of working weeks was forty-one, still some stewards entered the whole forty-four weeks' works as due.¹ Now if we add William atte Water's holding (though he was personally exempt) making the number thirty-three, and reckon forty-four works to each, it would give 1452, which looks very like the number intended in the roll.

The language of the Extent implies that exactly the same amount of week-work was required from every customary tenant, whatever the size of his holding. The exceptions or variations refer to other works, not to these. This equalised obligation would seem to imply an original system of equal holdings, as at Bradcar. But beyond the fact already mentioned that a holding of 7 acres with its

¹ A remarkable instance of the regular organisation of the customary tenants of a manor, both in holdings and service, is given in Cunningham (*ubi supra*) p. 507. On the Manor of Borley, Essex, in 1307, there were three customarii holding 20 acres, and bound to three works a week from Michaelmas to August (forty-four weeks); eleven held 10 acres, and were bound to half that work; and nine held 5 acres, and did half the amount of the last. A twelfth holder of 10 acres, who heads the whole list, is entered as bound to three works a week as if he held 20. But if he did the same works as the other 10-acre tenants, the total comes to 1485, which is the exact amount entered under that head.

multiples is of most frequent occurrence, we have little to guide us. There are, perhaps, slight indications of some grouping of smaller holdings. Thus whereas ten (including all the larger holders) have to follow the typical services of John Richer, one of them, Richard Fissy (4), although holding only 3 acres and 3 roods, becomes a type to thirteen others, whose holdings are of various sizes. But six of Fissy's followers form types to one or another of the remaining tenants, and here a great rule of similarity is apparent. Thomas Mafrey (8) with 7 acres sets a type to Ralph le Erl (15), who also has 7 acres; Ranulph Canne (11) with 6 acres to Stephen Reymond (13) with 5; Frescentia Cristmesse (14) with 2 acres to William le Blekestere (16), William Gilbert (25), and Beatrix le Blekestere (27) with $2\frac{1}{2}$, 2, and 2 acres respectively; Stephen Leveday (17) with 7 acres to William Goche (18) and Roger Ketil (20) also with 7 acres each; and Hugo son of Peter (22) with $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres to Geoffrey Distel (26) with the same amount of land. This seems to point to some relation between holding and service in occasional work, and we can hardly doubt that equality of week-work indicates an original equality of customary holdings.

In the case of this particular manor the substitution of money payments for personal work had evidently advanced even further than at Bradcar. The difference of opinion between the steward and the customary tenants as to the money value of a year's week-work furnishes conclusive evidence that the question actually arose. The lord would sometimes at least rather have money than work, even from the tenants in full villainage. This is not surprising considering the small amount of land in demesne for which their labour was wanted.

Perhaps also this comparatively small need of labour was the originating cause for another feature of this manor. From customary tenants and the majority of the

molmen alike, an annual rent in kind was still taken. It was in the form of quarters of oats, ranging from one quarter to four or five. No manifest distinction in the amount rendered is perceptible between the two classes of tenants. If there is, it is slightly in favour of the molmen.

Molmen.—Passing to these, which follow the “customarii,” we find that they were very numerous, sixty-three in all. They were divided into two classes, “molmen magne tenure,”¹ and “molmen parve tenure.” Of the former there were forty-one, holding amongst them 226 acres and 3 roods. The holdings vary from 21 to 2 acres. The 7 acre holding occurs in five cases, and 3½ in six, besides the holding of 21. The rest are very irregular. The rent of oats has just been mentioned. It was rendered by all but six. These tenants were liable to certain occasional services, and there was much difference of opinion between them and the steward as to the equivalent value of their works, and also as to their liability to pay anything at all in case the labour was not required. Their rents in money, which were chiefly paid at Michaelmas, do not bear any perceptible relation to the extent of their holdings, but there is a very marked evidence of a normal and equal rent of 16d., payable at Michaelmas.² This amount occurs in no less than twenty-three cases, while the half (8d.) occurs in five others, and the double (32d.) in one. No obvious explanation of this circumstance suggests itself.

¹ These descriptions “of great tenure” and “of small tenure” can hardly apply to the size of the holdings, which are mostly small. They must have in some way differentiated the character of the services rendered. (“There can be no tenure without some service, because the service makes the tenure.—1 Inst. I., 93,” Jacob *Law Dictionary*, s.v. Tenure).

² This fact is obscured in the list of rents as given below, in which some small additional rents, payable at other times, are included. The rents of 1s. 6d. or like amounts include a Michaelmas rent of 1s. 4d.

The "molmen parve tenure" are very small holders indeed. There are twenty-two, of whom seventeen hold only 24 acres of land between them. Four of the others hold a "cotagium," and one has a messuage at ferm. They do a few occasional works, and render moderate rents on a somewhat lower scale than the other molmen. There is no typical tenant. Each seems to be treated on separate terms. One exception, however, is worth noticing. Walter Leche, the last but one on the list, holds 3½ acres, "and does in all things as the aforesaid Simon Underwode, &c." Now Simon was the typical tenant among the "molmen magne tenure," and Walter not only here renders his quarter of oats and his normal 16*d.* rent as they do, but actually has a holding among them also. There seems, therefore, no reason why he should not have been reckoned amongst the more important class of molmen for this holding as well as the other. We may, perhaps, recognise here another indication that the designation "molmen" had ceased to express merely the substitution of money payments for labour. Here are two holdings held by the same person on similar conditions, yet he is differently designated in respect of each. For the rest, although this lower class of molmen at Banham were indeed free from the burdensome obligations of the *custumarii*, yet the small size of their manorial holdings could only have meant starvation without other means of subsistence. Whether they hired out their labour or in what way they made a living does not appear. The same observation will apply to the molmen "of great tenure," who in some cases have equally small holdings.

Tenants bound to special Suit of Court.—Between the two classes of molmen on this manor is a list of seven tenants (or rather holdings) of special interest. Among the obligations of medieval life (as at the present day)

had to be reckoned the duty of attending Courts, of which there were several. There were the ordinary Manorial Courts, of which mention may be made when we come to the Bardwell Roll. There were also the Royal Courts, such as Hundred Courts, County Courts, or the great Assizes held by the Itinerant Justices. At these attendance was required from various classes of persons, not merely to answer some specific charge, but to make presentments (or reports) as to the due fulfilment in each district of the requirements of the common law and also as to the satisfaction of all legal claims and services due to the king. The proper persons to fulfil this obligation of giving sworn testimony in the King's Courts would naturally be freemen as being most "law worthy." But it is clear that persons of legally "unfree" status shared the burden.

The tenants here mentioned were bound to attend these courts, and were almost certainly all "molmen." Two of their names occur in the preceding list. Moreover they were bound to the "unfree" service of merchet, yet they are said to answer at these courts "pro toto homagio," an expression which would rightly mean the freemen or freeholders. We have seen, however, that freeholders were almost unknown on this manor, and it is apparent that the molmen (at least those whose lands were held "magne tenure") must have been counted as such. There are seven holdings held on this condition, comprising 100 acres. The first (25 acres) is held conjointly by three persons. All these tenants had to perform this service at their own cost.¹

Besides the tenants of these special holdings, one of the "molmen magne tenure," John Huwet, holding 16 acres, is excused serving as reeve or in the other similar

¹ Tenants with a similar obligation were sometimes termed "Hundredarii." Vinogradoff discusses their status at some length, pp. 188 and 441.

offices "because he is Attorney in the Hundred of Gildecros." This word did not necessarily at this time mean an "Attorney at Law." But it meant that in some way John specially represented the lord at the Hundred Court, probably at the ordinary monthly courts, whereas the others appeared at special courts, such as the Great Hundred or Sheriff's Tourn. The description of the lord's franchises in the roll itself contains many details about these obligations.

5.—THE MANOR OF WYKES IN BARDWELL.

Freeholders.—The Extent of this manor contains no account of the Lord's Demesne, and the tenants are divided into two classes only, freeholders and "custumarii." Of freeholders there are no fewer than seventy-six, but so small are the majority of their holdings that the total amount of their arable land only reaches 265 acres. Indeed, deducting seven tenants who hold 116 acres, and six more who appear to have held messuages without land, there remain sixty-three freeholders holding scarcely more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres each. The details of their holdings are very remarkable. John de Buxhale (49) for example, holds thus:— $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of tenement Peet; 5 roods of tenement Robert Bude; 3 roods of tenement Bretun; and 1 rood of tenement le Hore. For the first of these he pays a rent of 9*d.*, for the second, $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and for each of the other two, $\frac{2}{3}$ *d.* This is by no means an unusual case. The tenements so named are held also in small pieces by other tenants. A tenement called after "J. Symonds" is held by no less than ten tenants, although the total of the small pieces only amounts to 14 acres and 3 roods. So $10\frac{1}{2}$ acres of "tenement Peet" are held in seven small lots. No such names, as a rule, occur among the existing tenants, and we may fairly conjecture that these

were holdings which had been once held by tenants of those names, and had been broken up into these small pieces while still retaining the name on the steward's roll.¹ The holders of the pieces, however small, appear to have been dealt with independently. Only in one case is there mention of joint responsibility. Quite at the end of the list of freeholders are the names of eleven tenants (64-74) of whom it is said "all these hold 1 messuage and 9 acres of the tenement Marger'." They jointly paid 3s. rent. Some of these persons held messuages and land besides this, and at least three of them also held as "*custumarii*." With some slight exceptions not worth mentioning, these tenants, so far as regarded their freehold tenements, paid moderate rents, averaging about 4*d.* per acre (though quite unequally distributed), and a small sum for scutage.

Custumarii.—Of these tenants there were forty-nine (some names occurring on both lists). They held in all 267½ acres. One of them held 26 acres, another 15, and another 12. The rest were all small holdings. Like the freeholders, they frequently held pieces of "tenements," sometimes the same as those parted amongst the freeholders. More remarkable still is the way in which they held minute pieces of lands of adjoining lords. Here is an instance. Stephen de Depmer (5) holds a messuage and 4 acres with rent and services, and also 5 acres of the same tenement with further rent and services. Then we read that "the same Stephen holds freely of the fees of other lords 5½ acres and 1 rood, to wit, of the Abbot of St. Edmund 5 roods, rendering 1½*d.*; of Ralph le Skinnere 1 acre, with rent 1*d.*; of Adam Ingold 1 acre, rent ½*d.*; of Albr' Unfrey ½ acre, rent ½*d.*; of Alec' Marger' 1 acre, rent ¾*d.*; of Thomas Marger' 1 acre, rent ½*d.*; total rent 4½*d.*" Now it is

¹ Several of them are traceable on the earlier Subsidy Roll mentioned below.

expressly stipulated in all such cases that these small rents accruing to other lords were to be collected by the steward of this manor and paid to his own lord, who would thereupon acquit the tenant against the lords of the other fees. The preparation for the annual audit on this manor must have been a severe test of the bailiff's powers as an accountant. This one tenant, holding 14½ acres, had to be dealt with under eight heads, for every one of these lords had other pieces in the hands of other tenants. Many of the "lords" were tenants themselves.

With respect to labour services the regulations are very instructive. As already mentioned, the required number of week-works was forty, and a very interesting statement is made in the case of the typical tenant, John Larke (7) as to these works. In any case labour for a whole day on the land counted for two works; in some cases even for four. This greatly reduced the burden of the obligation to an individual. Many of the tenants were also bound to a somewhat unusual service. In the case of John Larke it is thus stated, "and he shall reap in autumn four gouilacres without the lord's food, to wit, two of winter corn and two of barley." "Gouil (govil)" must be "gavel" or rent, but these were, of course, not acres for which a money rent was paid. On some manors mention is made of "gauilerth," i.e., gavel ploughing.¹ This is explained to be ploughing a certain amount of the lord's land as a return for and in proportion to some amount of land held by the worker. In Bardwell this service was required of the holders of land held in villainage, and would seem not to have differed from an ordinary labour service on the lord's demesne. The "gouil acres" were divided into "pedates." Such explanation as can

¹ Vinogradoff, p. 280,—"erth" is "ploughing" from the old English "ear," to plough. The service at Bardwell consisted of reaping, not ploughing.

be given of these services will be found where they occur in the roll.

Another suggestive feature of this manor is the evidence it affords of grouping or co-operation among the tenants, whether by manorial arrangement or their own convenience. Thus the first customary tenant, Adam de Depmer, who holds 2 acres and a messuage, is bound to certain services, and the second, Hugo de Depmer, also holding a messuage and 2 acres, is bound to the same services with Adam "parcenario suo." Another case suggests a family group. Geoffrey son of William de Littlemor (24) has a messuage with $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, and the services specified are to be performed by him and his "participes," *i.e.*, his two brothers, who follow him on the list, each stated to hold "the same as Geoffrey." The tenant before Geoffrey was another member of the family, Thomas de Littlemor, chaplain, with 2 messuages and 26 acres, held for life. Two other cases are groupings of neighbours. There were two districts called "Estrete" and "Westrete." Wm. Payn (30) lived in Estrete, and Adam Alcock (39) in Westrete. Of the latter it is said that "he and all his underwritten parceners of Westrete shall do as William Payn and his parceners of Estrete."

On this matter reference may be made to a most interesting document, of which only a few extracts can be given here. It is an Inventory of all the stores of grain and stock of animals on which an assessment was made for a tax of $\frac{1}{80}$ in 11th Edw. I.¹ The Roll includes the whole Hundred of Blackbourn, in which Bardwell stood. It belongs, unfortunately for comparison with our

¹ In the Public Record Office, marked "Lay Subsidy, Suffolk, 242." This valuable document has somewhat recently come to light. It contains complete inventories of thirty-three parishes, giving the whole of the stores of grain and of the live stock held by all the inhabitants about March, 1283.

Extent, to a generation earlier, and only a few of the same persons occur in both. It thoroughly confirms, however, the observations just made. Many of the separate contributors are assessed on almost absurdly small stocks, and the only possible explanation must be that they belonged to families or groups of fellow workers. At the same time they are assessed as independent holders of their little stocks just as much as the lord himself or the large tenants. The lord of the manor begins with £26 of grain and live stock. The next tenant follows with £18. At the other end of the scale, John Rastald has two seams (quarters) of barley, two bushels of peas, one mare, and one cow, worth in all 14s. 3d. Matilda Gott has half a seam of barley, three bushels of rye, one bushel of peas, and one cow, worth 8s. 2½d. Just before this comes a family. Henry Aluered has goods to the value of £3. 12s. 6d., and William Aluered goods worth 15s. The latter must have been an old man, perhaps living with his son, who follows, John, son of William,¹ who is actually the largest tenant next to the lord, having goods valued at £21. 13s. 9d. The reeves seem to have held a good position. "Johannes prepositus" is assessed on £5. 4s. 10d., and "Gundreda, daughter of John prepositus," possesses on her own account one seam of malt, one cow, one sheep, one hoggett, and one lamb; worth in all 8s. 9d. Still more curious is the case of another reeve, "Willelmus prepositus," who had goods valued at £5. 12s. 0d., and then follows "Alicia ancilla Wiffi prepositi," who owns independently two and a half seams of barley, six sheep, and one lamb, worth 12s. When daughters and maid-servants were reckoned as having independent property, we can hardly say that the law of villainage was worked out in all its logical

¹ This is evidently the freeholder (24) of our Extent. He seems at the later date to have sub-let his holding. See customary tenants (35) and (38).

extremes. In the township of Ixworth, on this Subsidy Roll, a separate list of the "custumarii" of the lord is given with all their belongings, large and small, and yet they are distinguished from the free contributors as "servi" ("tam liberorum quam servorum").

Suit of Court.—This Bardwell Roll gives specific statements about the obligation of suit of court. Of the freeholders, five are to attend "all the lord's courts," and the same obligation is imposed on thirty-one of the "custumarii." Five of the freeholders and one of the custumarii are exempted from suit at other courts, but are bound to attend two "General Courts."¹ The "Courts" here mentioned would be the ordinary Manorial Courts, which in some manors were held as often as every three weeks. The burden of attendance was, perhaps, not quite so great as might appear at first sight, since the "suitors" were all on the spot, and the business was often very small. The "two General Courts" would be the courts held twice a year, when, in addition to the civil business of the manor, the View of Frankpledge was held, including the business of what was then called "the Leet," and afterwards the "Court Leet."

Scutage.—This roll also gives a specific statement of the incidence of "scutage" on the manorial tenants. Scutage was a commutation for personal military service organised by King Henry II. by way of obtaining more of a paid army and making himself less dependent on his barons. It became a sort of military tax on the tenants in chief based on the number of their "knights' fees".² The usual charge at this time on one knight's fee was 40s. or

¹ The tenants who had to attend all courts are marked on the list (a. c.) : those who attended the two general courts (2 g. c.).

² It was now becoming obsolete. "In Edward I.'s day scutage was becoming, under his grandson it became, obsolete." (Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 337.)

3 marks. The lord on whom this charge was made was allowed to get it back from his tenants. Almost every tenant on this manor paid a small sum towards this charge, which was an occasional exaction. Few paid more than 1*d.* out of 20*s.* If this expression (1*d.*, 2*d.*, &c., out of 20*s.*) is intended for anything more than a statement of percentage, it would mean that the lord of this manor held half a knight's fee.¹ The total amount paid by freeholders is 4*s.* 1½*d.*, and by customary tenants, 3*s.* 6½*d.*, or 7*s.* 8*d.* in all. This can hardly represent any proportional part of a fee. Either the lord himself paid the remainder of the sum required, or perhaps some other manor belonging to him made it up.

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF BRADCAR, SHROPHAM, 1298.

"Roll of Tenants and Customs of the Manor of Bradeker,² made on the first coming of John de Coggeshale³ in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward,

¹ In "*Lay Subsidies, Suffolk, 243 4 E. II.*" occurs "*Berdewell. De Isabella de Wykes pro dimidio j feodi in Berdewell, j marc.*" This would be at the rate of 26*s.* 8*d.* for each fee.

² See Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 8vo., vol. i., p. 457.

³ A Roll of Knights' Fees in Public Record Office (*Lay Subsidies, Norfolk, 142*) mentions this lord and several of the freehold tenants. "John de Coggeshale holds half a fee in Shropham of Hugo le Veer, and Hugo of Earl Warren, and the Earl of the King, xx^s. Roger le Caux and his tenants hold half a fee in Shropham of William de Gerun, and William of the King, xx^s. John de Brecales holds a quarter fee in Shropham of the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of the King, x^s. Peter de Shropham, Roger le Caux, William de Hockham, the heirs of Richard de Snytterton, Peter son of Robert de Becham, hold half a fee in Shropham of William the Marshal, and William of the King, xx^s."

son of King Henry, by Thomas de Burny, Henry Wande, Henry Abot, Henry Grom, Thomas atte fligate, Peter de Tymworth, Ralph Toppe, Geoffrey Burny, and William Kene."

Freeholders (libere tenentes).

Tenant.	Holding and Land.		Rent.	
	a.	r.	s.	d.
1. John de Brebles, ¹ in vill of Brebles Magna ...	Messuage			
	without			
	buildings	55	0	
Also as sub-tenants holding freely				
Walter Manchild, in vill of Shropham ...	Messuage	[not stated]	6	0
Robert Elfeld, in vill of Shropham ...	Messuage	6	0	
Heirs and son of Geoffrey atte hill, in vill of Hockham Magna ...	Messuage	[not stated]		
now in tenure of Robert Trendel				
2. Bartholomew de Gardino de Hockham, in vill of Hockham Magna and Parva ...	Messuage ²	60	0	6
now in tenure of Alan de valle Badonis, and in other tenures, free and customary				
3. Adam de Methelonde, in Hockham Magna ...	7 & 3 acres of meadow		0	3

¹ John de Brebles held all these holdings by inheritance of his wife, Alice, daughter of Bartholomew de Grymsted. Also right of foldage without limit, of turbary and piscary, paying, besides the above rent, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for scutage. The word "vill" (villa) expresses more than village. It comprises the whole area of the pariah.

² Held by Bartholomew by inheritance of Alice his wife, as meane ("sicud medius") under Walter de Bradok. Walter held of the lord. He had "foldage for 6 score and 1 heads," and paid 2s. scutage out of 20s.

Also paid scutage of uncertain amount.

		Holding and Land.		Rent.	
		a.	r.	s.	d.
4.	Richard de Snytterton, chaplain, ¹ in vill of Snytterton	Messuage	60 0	4	0
5.	John Knyght de Hokham, in Hokham Magna ...	Messuage	3 0	0	5
6.	Thomas Hood of the same, in Hokham Magna ...	... ..	5 0	4	0
7.	Henry Breton	Cottage ...	6 1	1	2½
8.	Peter Julian ... ..	... ..	1 0	0	2
9.	Henry Carpenter, as mesne with divers tenants ... ..	... ..	8 0	2	5
10.	John Carpenter ... ..	... ..	1 0	0	2
11.	William Breton ... ..	... ..	0 0½	0	0½
12.	William son of Elmered, Also as mesne, in tenure of William Herberd ...	Messuage	8 0	1	6½
13.	William Sekkere	Cottage ...	...	0	1
14.	William de Illyngton ...	... ..	1 0	0	2
15.	Henry son of Thomas de Modyngwell ... ..	... ..	1½ 0	0	2
16.	Roger le cauce ... ..	... ..	4 0	0	4½
17.	Adam son of Nicholas the reeve ... ..	... ..	4½ 0	1	5½
				and 1 capon	
18.	William Herberd	Croft ...	...	1 capon	
19.	Robert de Bradok ² ... ..	... ..	2 0	}	0 3½
	Also as mesne in tenure of William Martin ... ..	... ..	2 0		
20.	Philip Talebot ... ..	... ..	½ 0	0	1½
21.	Geoffrey Helewys ... ..	... ..	0 1	0	1½
22.	Walter the clerk	Messuage with Croft	1½ 0	2	0

¹ Held "by himself and by his tenants." Had foldage without number. Paid 12d. of scutage.

² All the above nineteen tenants, except where "medius" is specified, are said to hold "per se," which seems to mean "in their own hands" as distinguished from "sicut medius," in which case they had sub-let their holding to another, but were themselves responsible to the lord for the rent.

	Tenant.		Holding and Land.		Rent. s. d.
			a.	r.	
23.	Walter Leverich	... Messuage with Croft of John Parys	1 3½	0 and formerly	0 7
24.	Geoffrey le Blo, "per se"	in Handhowe ...	1	piece of land	0 0½ ^a
				(a) and 2 hens for hutshote ¹	
25.	The same, and Juliana his sister	... ..	1	0	0 1
26.	Heirs of John Terry and Cecilia Terry	... ..	0	3	0 3½
27.	Roger "le fishere"	... Curtilage	1	1	0 1½
					and 2 hens
28.	John Child	... ..	0	1	0 0½
29.	Robert Denys	... ..	½	0	0 1
30.	Walter Thedryk	... For blocking a path through his courtyard			0 1½
31.	Hugo le Chapman	... Messuage	0	1	0 0½
32.	Agnes Lovet	... For blocking a way			0 1
33.	Robert Payn	... [not stated]			0 0½
34.	Margaret Leverich	... ..	4	0	0 8½
35.	Peter de Grymeston	... Messuage with buildings	0	2½	0 8
36.	Thomas Chapman	... ..	2	0	0 4½
37.	Alicia Leverich, as mesne, in tenure of Richard le caus	... ..	1½	0	0 3
38.	Reginald Layt	... ..	1	0	0 3
39.	Nicholas son of Peter ffukeys	... A ditch and the issue (exitus)			0 0½ ^a
				(a) and one boonwork in autumn, with food.	
40.	John atte Grene	... Messuage with buildings and croft	1	0	0 3
41.	William Lovet	... [not stated]			1 7
42.	Andrew son of Gilbert	... ..	½	0	0 1
43.	Roger de Shropham	... ..	0	3	0 2
44.	Walter Chaumberleyn	... ..	0	1½	0 0½
45.	Walter Bullock	... ..	7	0	0 7

¹ Out-shot or out-payment, for some privilege which is not apparent.

	Tenant.	Holding and Land.	Rent.	
			s.	d.
46.	Stephen Wlmer ...	Cottage ...	0	2 ^a
		(a) and two boonworks, with food.		
47.	William the cobbler (sutor)...	Messuage	7	0
48.	Ernald Simon ...	Messuage	1	0
49.	Robert Lusser and Oliva his wife ...	Cottage ...	0	1
				and 1 capon
	The same, "per se" of the fee of			
	Robert de Bukenham ...	...	1	0
50.	Walter Hirich, as mesne, in tenure of Walter Terry ...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	0
51.	Emma atte Greene, by the Holmere ...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	0
52.	Robert le Smale de Hokham, at "le gore" ...	...	1	0
53.	Henry Layt ..	A ditch below his messuage ...		1 capon
54.	Robert le Mey ...	Issue to the common		1 hen
55.	Alicia, widow of Andrew son of Walter atte Water ...	Small parcel of land in her curtilage ...		2 hens
56.	Walter Manchild ...	Issue to common ...		4 hens
57.	Andrew Semer ...	Issue to common ...		1 hen
58.	Walter Leverich, of tenement formerly of Rich. de Harpley...	...	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0
	The same, of tenement formerly of Agnes Momes ...	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0
	The same, of land of Martyns tenement	...	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	The same, of tenement Ide, "to wit, customary land" ...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0
			7 quarters of barley	

"And be it known that if any one of Lirlyngg has any beasts pasturing on the common of Shropham, he shall give for them a hen at the will of the lord's bailiffs or harvestmen. Also Richard de Calkhil and John Bishop of Lirlyngg, who are near neighbours, if they common with any beast, shall each of them give one hen, and

they shall plough both together for one day with their own plough when the lord wills. And each shall have for the said ploughing eight herrings and four barley loaves, and twenty loaves should be made out of every bushel. Also each of them shall do one boonwork in autumn, with the lord's food at noon¹ (ad nonam), and each of them shall have three loaves in the evening (ad vesperam) and thirty loaves are made of every bushel. And if they do not plough, they shall give 3*d.* And if they do not reap, they shall give for every reaping 1*d.*

"Also Roger the fisher (piscator) of Shropham, John le Marchaunt, William Lovet, Walter Thedryk, John Thedryk, junior, Thomas le Marchaunt, Walter le Marchaunt, John le caus, William Bone, John Layt, Henry atte Watere, Robert Meyis, Ernald Simund, Robert Lusser, Walter Terry, Walter Manchild, William Faber, Peter Wlmer, William son of Elmered, Peter Jelion, John Carpenter, William Breton, Walter Batalie, William de Illyngton, Adam Osbern, Henry de Modyngwelle, Adam son of Nicholas the reeve, Agnes atte Grene, Philip Talebot, the heirs of John Terry, Geoffrey le Blo, William . . . gerey. All these, if they have a plough, ought to plough for the lord twice a year at the will of the lord, with as many head as they yoke in the plough on their own lands. And every plough shall have every time eight herrings and four barley loaves, and twenty loaves are made of every bushel, and every plough, besides the resumption,² 3*d.* Notwithstanding although they do not plough they shall give nothing."

¹ If "noon" is meant, this would be the "prandium," or mid-day meal; if "none" (3.0 p.m.), then it would be an afternoon refreshment.

² "Preter resumcionem." This seems to be the same as "reprise" used in some rolls. Kelham (*Norman Dictionary*) gives "Repris, deductions and duties yearly paid out of a manor and lands." So Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, s.v. Reprises (Fr. resumption). Does it mean that the lord has to pay the 3*d.* irrespective of any arrears due on other obligations?

Sum of	At the term of St. Andrew	s. d. 8 4½	Also 7 quarters of barley in Lent.
the	At the term of the		
moneys	Nativity of the Lord	0 2½	Also at the term of St. Andrew, 2 capons.
of the	At the term of the Puri-		Also at the term of
free	fication of the Blessed		Easter, 2 capons.
tenants.	Mary	0 3	
	At the term of Easter ...	8 0	And at the term of the
	At the term of Pentecost	3 9½	Nativity of the Lord,
Sum	At the term of St. John	3 4½	13 hens.
total,	At the term of St. Peter		And 5 boonworks in
39s. 8d.	ad vincula (August 1)	2 7½	autumn.
	At the term of St. Michael	12 0½	

Molmen.

	Tenant.	Holding and Land.	Rent.	
			a. r.	s. d.
1.	Ralph Toppe	Messuage and	8 0	0 8
2.	William atte Tounesende	Messuage	6 0	2 10
3.	Peter Muncy ¹	Messuage	8 0	2 4
4.	Peter Tymworth	Messuage	3½ 0	[not stated]
5.	John Theyn	Messuage	3½ 0	[same as last]
6.	Isabella Kyng	Messuage	4 0	1 6
7.	Henry Wande	Messuage	4 0	1 6
8.	William Martin	Messuage	½ of 1 rood	
9.	Basilia Breton	Messuage	1 0	
10.	Robert Herd	Messuage	½ 0	0 2
11.	Robert le Bee	2 messuages	0 1	0 4½
12.	Alice Thedryk	Messuage	4 0	0 11
13.	William Kene	Toft and	4 0	1 1
	Ditto	Toft formerly ffrost's		1 2
14.	Johanna Kene ... ..	... ..	1 0	0 4
	Ditto	1 curtilage		0 1
15.	Robert "le milner" ...	Messuage		
	without buildings		2 0	0 4

¹ This and other tenants were subject to a "custom called Inlayr." It was a payment per head for every animal. In his case horses, sheep, pigs, milch cows, and oxen at work in the plough were exempt. But in the case of the next tenant, milch cows are charged 1d. per head, and oxen ½d., as also other animals. The custom is distinguished from the obligation to send sheep to lie in the lord's fold "from Whitsuntide to the Purification," for neglecting which an arbitrary amercement might be exacted. Licence might be obtained at 1d. per 8 animals.

	Tenant.		Holding and Land.	Rent.	
				s.	d.
16.	Henry Abot	...	Messuage	8	0
17.	John Theyn	...	Messuage	8	0
18.	Walter de Tasburgh	...	Messuage	5½	0

Customary Tenants ("custumarii").

1.	Thomas atte falgate	...	Messuage	8	0	1	6½
2.	Alice Wodeman...	...	Toft...	8	0	1	11½
3.	Geoffrey Burny	...	Messuage	8	0	1	10
4.	Henry Grom	...	Messuage	8	0	1	4
5.	Thomas Bretain...	...	Messuage	8	0	1	6½
6.	Thomas Burny	...	Messuage	6	0	1	0
7.	Geoffrey Starlyngg	...	Messuage	8	0	1	4½

All the above Tenants, as well Molmen as Custumarii, have to plough twice a year, as the freeholders, if they have a plough, except Ralph Toppe, who is bound to serve as reeve and "messor." [For their other labour services or commutations see next page].

Sum of	At the term of St. Andrew	s.	d.	Sum total, £1. 9s. 3½d.
rents in	At the term of the Purifi-	6	7½	And at the Nativity of
money	cation of the Blessed Mary	0	9	the Lord, 24 hens of
as well	At the term of Easter	0	4½	rent.
of Mol-	At the term of Pentecost	7	1½	
men as	At the term of St. Peter ad			
of Cus-	Vincula	6	5	
tumarii.	At the term of St. Michael	8	0½	
	Also of hirdelsilver ¹ at Pentecost, 10½			

The Demesne and Summary of the value of the Manor.

RENTS IN MONEY.

	s.	s.	d.
Freeholders	...	1	19 8
Molmen and Customers	...	1	9 3½
		3	8 11½
Deduct rents collected and paid to other lords	...	0	11 8
		£2	17 3
Besides hirdelsilver	...	0	0 10½

¹ This might be money paid to escape the obligation of providing hurdles for the lord's fold.

RENTS IN KIND.

					£.	s.	d.
Barley [P 9 quarters at 4s.]	...	...	...	...	1	16	0
Geese, 7 at 2½d.	...	...	...	...	0	1	5½
Capons, 4 at 2d.	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
Hens, 39 at 1½d.	...	...	...	...	0	4	10½
					£2	3	0

Works and their commutable value.

		d.	£.	s.	d.	By whom done.
294 Winter works	...	0½	=	0	12 3	42 by each of the 7 customers.
64 Carryings	...	1	=	0	5 4	4 each by 9 molmen and 7 customers.
10 Diggings of turf	...	0½	=	0	0 5	3 by B. Toppe, 7 by the customers.
17 Mill pool cleanings	...	0¼	=	0	0 4½	1 each by 10 molmen and 7 customers.
17 Church Close Ditch	...	0¼	=	0	0 4½	Same as last.
76 Hoeings	...	0¼	=	0	1 7	4 each by 12 (P) molmen and 7 customers.
18 Mowings	...	1	=	0	1 6	1 each by customers, rest not specified.
4 Haymakings	...	0¼	=	0	0 1	
142 Reapings, without food	2	=	1	3	8	8 by each customer, 8 or 4 by molmen.
106 Boonworks, with food	1	=	0	8	10	5 by freeholders, 4 each by most molmen, and all customers.
Chevage	...	...	...	0	0 8	
					£2	14 10½ ¹

¹ The sum total alone is given in the roll, not the separate amounts. 1d. is to be deducted for "drink" given to the mowers, which still leaves 1d. too much. The four haymaking works are an obligation of two or three molmen who were specially bound to pay if they did not work. The rest might be called to do the work when needed, but if not, they paid nothing. "Chevage" (capitagium) was usually a small payment for leave to reside out of the manor. "Boon" (or bene) works were works done by custom at the request of the lord.

Demesne Lands, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
Arable.—38 acres at 6d. =	0	19	0
213½ „ 8d. =	7	2	4
50 „ 10d. =	2	1	8
Meadow.—7 „ 10d. =	0	5	10
4 „ 4d. =	0	1	4
Herbage, fruit of courtyard (garden), and dovehouse ...	0	4	0
Turbary	0	2	0
Two watermills, one windmill, and fishery	1	4	0
Fines of Court	0	4	0
Unaccounted for	0	7	10
	£12	12	0

Sum total of the whole manor, £20. 8s. 0d.

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF BANHAM, 1281.

“Extent of Banham made in the tenth year of the reign of Edward, son of King Henry, by the jurors underwritten, to wit, by Simon Reymond, William atte Water, John Ryche, Ralph [? Canne], Geoffrey Sewale, Hugo son of Peter, John Ulfketel, Stephen Leveday, Richard le Erl, William atte Medwe, Henry de Oxney, William Silveroun, Hugo Elfred, William Annulet, John Lambrych, Richard son of Peter, William Goche, and William Fynck.

“Who say on their oath that the Manor of Banham is held of the lord Earl of Gloucester,¹ in chief for

¹ Gilbert of Clare, who at the age of nineteen succeeded his father Richard in 1262, and afterwards married Johanna, daughter of King Edward.

the third part of a knight's fee, paying to the said lord Earl one mark, when the scutage is at 40s. Also it owes an aid at the marrying of the Earl's first-born son. And they believe likewise at the marrying of his daughter, because they did this in the time of the Earl Richard, father of the Earl that now is. And they believe that the advowson of the Church of Banham belongs to [the lord] of right, and is worth sixty marks. Also they say that to the said manor belongs view of Frankpledge, which ought to be held by the bailiff of the lord, the king's bailiff being present once in the year, the said bailiff of the lord king taking nothing, but hearing "secreta,"¹ and it ought always to be held on the day on which the king's bailiff holds his leet in the said vill. And the bailiff of the lord of the Hundred takes fines (emendas) of bread and beer and all other exactions to be made as well concerning measures as of all other things to the said view pertaining according to the chartered² articles. And also he shall lead to judgment thieves and servants³ taken in the act, in the presence of the bailiff of the king, if he will. And other persons indicted [at the Leet] are taken by the lord's bailiff, and delivered to the bailiff of the lord king, notwithstanding they are to be led to the prison of Norwich by the homage of the lord. And the view is worth, of fixed [payment]⁴, 3s., and, as they believe, the amercements, 20s.

¹ ? Matters kept private as specially touching the interests of the Crown, as treason, &c. See Scargill-Bird, *Guide to the Public Records*, p. 162, on "Baga de Secretis."

² "Cartatos," granted by deed.

³ "Manuales opere captos." Can this be meant for "manu opere captos," persons taken with the stolen goods in their possession? The common franchise of "Infangthief" gave the right at once to execute judgment on such offenders.

⁴ "De certo," a fee called "certum lete."

They say also that the lord has free bull (3s.) and boar (3s.), and stray beasts ($\frac{1}{2}$ mark) of old time and warren through the whole manor by deed of the Lord Henry, late King of England.

They say also that he has a messuage containing 7 acres and 1 rood of land with a moat (fossato), in which is contained a hall, a chamber, a chapel, a knights' chamber, a kitchen (coquina), a grange, a cow-shed (boveria) with a stable under the same roof, and a hen-house (domus ad galenias), and the easement of the aforesaid houses, &c. [is worth 20s.] And the herbage is worth 5s. 2d. And the apple orchards (pomeria) are reckoned at three casks of cyder (dolia cysarici), price of a cask 10s. Sum, 35s. 2d."

Other Profits.

	£.	s.	d.
Arable land, 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	2	9	6
Meadow, 26 acres 1 rood	1	11	3
Several pasture with a fishpond (vivarium)	0	9	3
Common pasture, with fees from commoners	0	17	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Another called Westmor	1	0	0
Fishery, let to farm	0	1	4
Turbary	0	6	0
Mill (wind ¹) to which suit is owed by all the homage	3	3	0
Wood, 180 acres, with issues	1	6	4
Foldage ²	0	16	0
Chevage ³	0	3	0
Court perquisites, reckoned at	5	0	0

Sum total, £17. 2s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

¹ "The lord shall find the iron, timber, and new making of the mill and the stones. And the millers who may be shall find all repairs, making of limbs, and (sail) cloth, with....."

² A customary fee for every ox, cow, &c., 1d., and for ten sheep outside the lord's fold, 1d.

³ "Every son of the lord's homage who shall serve anyone else than his own father ought to give chevage, 1d."

Freeholders.

Tenant.	Holding.			Rent.	
	Acres.			s.	d.
1. Sir Robert de Tateshale ¹ ...	128 ...	...	...	2	0
(of arable land of the lord's demesne, held "per medium.")					
2. William de Lirling ...	40, in four pieces...		[see below ²]		
3. Walter Swonild, chaplain ...	2, in one piece ...			0	6
4. Richard, son of Geoffrey ³ ..	10, in field of Banham			4	2½
5. Hugo Fresceint ⁴ ...	½ ...			1	6
6. Avelina, widow of John the carpenter ("carpentarii")...	2½ ...			1	6
7. William atte Water ⁵ ...	28 of customary land			2	6

Custumarii.

Tenant.	Holding.				Rent.	
	Arable.	Meadow.	Money.	Qrs.		
	a. r.	a. r.	s. d.	Oats.		
1. John Richer ...	21 0	4 0	0 9	4		
2. Thomas Pyk ...	18 0	4½ 0	6 4½	1		
3. Richard Puttok ...	11 0	...	0 10½	4		
4. Richard Fissy ...	3 3	...	0 5½	1		
5. John Ryngbon ...	2 0	...	0 6	0		
6. Geoffrey Sewale ...	15 0	1 0	3 0	1		
7. William Swonyld ...	15 0	2 0	1 6½	8		

¹ The lord of the manor at this time was John le Mareschall (*Blomefield* i., 346). Sir Robert was lord of the Manor of Old Bukenham (*ibid.* 373).

² William de Lirling had to render (a) a palfrey or 2 marks of silver; (b) three years after, a mewed (properly moulted) sparrowhawk, good and sound ("esparverium mutarium bonum et integrum") or ½ mark; (c) after three years more, a leash of hounds ("unam lesam leporariorum pulchorum et bonorum"), price 3s. 8½d. Also to do suit and "to go throughout all England on the business of the lord at the lord's cost." This would be the business of the capital lord, the Earl of Gloucester.

³ To do suit at the court every three weeks.

⁴ A "nativus domini" who had bought this holding of William Hert, a "liber homo domini." The next holding was held in dower, to revert to William's heirs.

⁵ This tenant, though classed as a freeholder, held customary land, and had to share in most of the customary services, except week-work, serving as shepherd and carrying outside the manor.

THREE MANORIAL EXTENTS.

Tenant.	Holding.		Rent.	
	Arable.	Meadow.	Money.	Qrs. of
	a. r.	a. r.	s. d.	Oats.
8. Thomas Mafrey ...	7 0	...	0 6½	2
9. John Richer ...	8 0	1½ 0	1 1½	4
10. Simon Wodecok ...	3½ 0	...	0 4½	1
11. Ranulph Canne ...	7 0	...	0 6	2
12. Susanna, widow ...	7 0	0 2½	0 8½	3
13. Stephen Raymond ...	5 0	½ 0	0 4½	2
14. Frescentia Cristmesse ...	2 0	...	0 4	0
15. Ralph le Erl ...	7 0	...	0 6½	2
16. William le Blekestere ...	2½ 0	...	0 7	0
17. Stephen Leveday ...	7 0	...	0 4½	3
18. William Goche ...	7 0	½ 0	0 5½	3
19. William son of Gilbert ...	7 0	1½ 0	0 4½	2
20. Roger Ketil ...	7 0	1 1	0 5½	3
21. John Goodfar' ...	11 0	1 0	1 0	4
22. Hugo son of Peter ...	3½ 0	0 1	0 4	1
23. William Puttok ...	11 0	...	0 8	4
24. Thomas Oxney ...	12 0	0 3½	0 10	3
25. William Gilbert ...	2 0	...	0 4	0
26. Geoffrey Distel with William Skut ...	3½ 0	½ 0	0 6½	1
27. Beatrix le Blekestere ...	2 0	...	0 4	0
28. Hugo Sewale ...	9 0	...	0 9	4
29. Richard le Wower ...	7½ 0	...	0 7½	4
30. Richard Aleyn ...	7 0	½ 0	0 7½	2
31. William Carpenter ...	11 0	½ 0	0 9½	4
32. William Fynch ...	3 0	...	0 4	5½ bs.

and ⅔ of ⅓ bushel

Molmen "magne tenure."

1. Simon Underwoode ...	7½ 0	...	2 9½	2
2. John Brything ...	3½ 0	...	1 6½	1
3. William Berd ...	2 0	...	0 8	0
4. Avelyna Barker ...	4 0	...	1 11	0
5. Richard Barker ...	4 0	...	1 0	0
6. John Grym ...	7 0	...	1 11	2
7. Walter "Molendinarius" ...	2 0	...	1 0	2
8. Ralph Philip ...	2 0	...	1 6½	1
9. Hugo "Bercarius" ...	2 0	...	1 6	0

	Tenant.			Holding.		Rent.		
				Arable.	Meadow.	Money.	Qrs. of	
				a. r.	a. r.	s. d.	Oats.	
10.	Ralph ate Milne	...	...	5 0	...	1 8	2	
11.	Walter Leche...	...	...	5 0	...	1 7½	2	
12.	Henry Lythfot	...	...	3½ 0	...	1 4	1	
13.	Simon Wower	...	...	2 0	...	1 4	2	
14.	William ate Milne	...	...	2 0	...	1 4	0	
15.	Margaret Testard	...	...	3½ 0	...	1 6	1	
16.	John "Molendinarius"	...	...	2 1	...	0 1	0	
17.	Hugo Alfred	...	...	4 1	...	1 6	1	
								and 4 bushels
18.	Richard ate Greue	...	...	2 0	...	1 6	2	
19.	Thomas Fysher	...	...	5 0	...	1 6½	2	
20.	William de Prato	...	...	2 0	...	1 6	2	
21.	William Siluerount	...	...	5 0	...	1 6½	2	
22.	Alys Sewale	...	...	11 0	...	1 11	5	
23.	Isolda Lescy and Richard							
	son of Philip	...	...	4 0	...	1 7½	2	
24.	Margaret Canne	...	...	7 0	...	1 8½	3	
25.	Richard son of Peter	...	...	5 0	...	1 6½	2	
26.	John Fysher	...	...	3 3	...	1 6	1	
								and 4 bushels
27.	John Huwet ¹	...	...	16 0	...	0 9	5	
28.	John Ulfketel	...	...	9 0	1½ 0	1 10½	3	
29.	William Amiot	...	...	7 0	...	1 6½	3	
30.	John Lambryth and Beatrix							
	Reynold	...	...	21 1	0 1	1 5½	5	
31.	Frecentia Philip	...	...	18 0	1 0	0 10½	4	
32.	Alfred Bistel	...	...	3½ 0	...	1 6½	1	
33.	Emma Aubry	...	...	6 0	1 0	0 9	4	
34.	Richard Erl	...	...	3½ 0	...	1 6½	1	
35.	William Dosse	...	...	2½ 0	0 1	0 9	1	
36.	William Berd	...	...	8 0	0 0½	1 7	3	
37.	Alicia Aubry	...	...	7 0	2 0	2 5	3	
38.	William Frame	...	...	4 1	0 0½	1 6½	1	
39.	Richard Nistard	...	...	3½ 0	...	1 6	1	
40.	Simon Raymond	...	...	4 0	2 1	2 11	1	
41.	Hugo Sirich	...	...	7 0	...	1 9	4	

¹ See above, p. 16.

Tenants who owe at County [and] Hundred defence and summons of the King for the whole homage.¹

	Tenant.	Holding.		Rent.		Qrs. of Oats.
		Arable. a. r.	Meadow. a. r.	Money. s. d.		
1.	Simon Beymond William Barcar' John de Kenyngthale	...	25½ 0	1 0	6 10	0
2.	Ralph Leveday	...	12 0	...	3 2	0
3.	William Frame	...	8 0	3 0	2 6½	0
4.	William de Breccles	...	10 0	...	3 2	0
5.	William Bole	...	18 0	2 0	2 6	6
6.	Hugo Cotesley	...	12 0	...	2 4	2
7.	Richard Herberd	...	15 0	1 3	3 3	0

Molmen "parve tenure."

1.	Ralph Skut	...	2½ 0	...	2 2	0
2.	Peter Canne	...	2 0	...	1 4	0
3.	John Gambun	...	1½ 0	...	1 0	0
4.	Miles Frost	...	1 0	...	0 6	0
5.	Roger Syward	...	0 3	...	0 6	0
6.	Letitia Siloum	...	1 0	...	0 9	0
7.	Adam Wolverick	...	1½ 0	...	0 0	1
8.	Richard Leveday	...	1½ 0	...	0 1	1
9.	Richard Sewale	...	2 0	...	1 6	0
10.	Alicia Ede	...	1 3	...	0 8	4 bs.
11.	Adam Cappe	...	1 cottage (cotagium)	1 0	0	
12.	John Cok	...	1 cottage	1 0	0	
13.	Nicholas Sawyer	...	1 messuage "ad firmam"	1 0	0	
14.	Simon son of Eliot	...	1 0	...	1 0	0
15.	Richard Hikely	...	0 3	...	0 0	4 bs.
16.	Alicia Mandevyle	...	0 3	...	0 0	4 bs.
17.	Petronilla Mandevyle	...	0 3	...	0 0	4 bs.
18.	Petronilla Berd	...	1 0	...	0 9	0
19.	Geoffrey ate Water	...	1 cottage	...	0 1	0
20.	Hugo Coteler	...	1 0	...	0 1	0
21.	Walter Leche	...	3½ 0	...	1 6	1
22.	Isolda Seliman	...	1 cottage	...	0 0½	0

¹ "Tenentes qui debent ad Com' Hundr' defens' et Som' Regis pro toto homagio." Tenants who are bound to answer for the whole homage and in their stead to obey all summonses to act on juries at the County or Hundred Courts.

SERVICES.

Custumarii.—There were three typical tenants. The first was William atte Water, who is the last of the freeholders. His services were (1) To *plough* two days at each of the sowing times of rye, oats, and barley, if he had a plough, if not, to pay 2*d.* at Pentecost. For each ploughing he received six loaves, value 1½*d.* or ¼*d.* each. (2) To do eleven days *autumn reaping* without food with one man, price of work, 1*d.*; and three days with the lord's food with one man, receiving dinner at noon and at vespers three loaves, price ¾*d.* For default of each man to pay ½*d.* (3) To *weed* with one man for half a day or pay ¼*d.* (4) To *mow* for one day in the lord's meadow, with dinner. If not, he claims to pay nothing, the true value is 1½*d.* (5) To *make* the lord's *hay* with one man for half a day, or pay ¼*d.* (6) To *carry* with his own cart the lord's corn or hay for half a day, and have a ¼*d.* loaf, or pay according to true value, 1½*d.* (7) To give "*faldagium*," as above. (8) To use the lord's mill in turn with three neighbours. (9) To do suit of court, worth 3*s.* (10) To give as heriot, "*post electionem uxoris*," his second best beast, or 32*d.*; and to give merchet for the marriage of his daughter. (11) To give at St. Andrew eight quarters of oats, price of one quarter, 2*s.*, one half to be good (*bona*) and the other half ().¹ (12) To pay money rent. (13) To serve at the lord's will as reeve, woodward, and harvestman. (14) The nearest heir to give a relief at the lord's will to enter on his father's land.

The second typical tenant, John Richer, the first on

¹ In the Bardwell Inventory mentioned on p. 20, oats are classified as large ("grosse") and small ("minute"). The former are valued at 2*s.* per quarter, the latter at 1*s.* 4*d.* Perhaps four bushels of large and six of small may be intended. Or the "*bona*" may be "*mensura bona*," piled up measure, and the lost antithesis "*rasa*," or straked measure.

the list of *Custumarii*, follows William in almost all the above obligations, and in addition, (15) has to do the week-work from Michaelmas to August, referred to above (p. 11). (16) To carry three times a year the weight of a coomb of corn towards Thetford, Norwich, or elsewhere for twelve leagues, having for each such work a quarter of a loaf and two herrings, or to pay for each carrying 1*d.*¹ (17) To cart manure, when needed. (18) To give two hens at Christmas or 2*d.*, as he says, but the true value is 1½*d.* each, and twenty eggs at Easter, or ½*d.*, the true value ¾*d.* (19) To serve as shepherd in his turn, and if so, to have five acres of land assigned to that office, with other privileges. (20) To be woodward, with charge of the pigs, with certain privileges and exemptions that year.

Another typical tenant was Richard Fissy (4), who was a type for ten others. The special work appears to be cutting a cartload of wood and carrying it to the hall. He received as much as he could carry, or ¼*d.* In default he paid 1*d.*

Almost every tenant differed from his type in some small points of detail.

Molmen magne tenure.—There was only one type for all these, given under the first name, Simon Underwoode. He had to *reap* in autumn three and a half days without the lord's food, or pay 2*d.*; and three days with food, or pay 1*d.*; to *weed* for half a day, or pay ¼*d.*; to *mow* for one day with dinner, or pay 1½*d.*; or, if not entitled to dinner, 3*d.* [this obligation of payment was denied]; to *plough* twice at the three sowing seasons, receiving each

¹ The carrying above was called "cariagium," this is "averagium." The former was carting on the manor; this was carrying on a pack horse for a distance, the roads being unfit for carts. The word used in the Inventory for a coomb or quarter of corn (8 bushels) is "summa," a seam, properly a horse-load.

time six farthing loaves, or pay 2*d.* at Pentecost, the true value being 3*d.*; to *carry* corn or hay for half a day with one loaf and cheese, or pay 2*d.*; to *make hay*, or pay ½*d.* He held the mill in his turn; gave heriot and relief; did suit of court and of the mill; gave foldage for sheep; had to act as reeve, "minister," and woodward; but was not bound to carry abroad or to fold his cattle in the lord's fold. The rest of these molmen only differed from their type in certain details.

An obligation attaching to one of these tenants is as follows:—"Frescentia Philip shall acquit the costs of setting steel on the lord's ploughs. And the lord shall find the steel. And three times she shall acquit the shoeing of one harrowing horse, to wit, with six horse shoes ("et illa acquietabit custus positionis acerri super carucas domini. Et dominus inveniet acerrum. Et per iij vices acquietabit ferr[aturam] unius equi herciantis, scilicet, cum vj ferr[amentis] equinis"). And the setting of the steel with the shoeing of the stotts [horses] is worth 33*d.* And she ought to feed the lord's bailiff and reeve and other servants [servientes] for one day, or give 2*s.*"

Tenants bound to *special Suit of Court*.—These all followed one type, that of Simon Reymond and his two fellows. Their service included three days' ploughing with food; weeding half a day; mowing by one man one day; carrying one day; reaping three days with food; giving heriot, merchet, and relief. They were bound to "defend" the lord's manor before the justices and the county, and at the summons of the king's bailiff [? the hundred court] and elsewhere at their own costs.

Molmen parve tenure.—No type is entered here—some have no services. The most common is three days' reaping with food. Two do three days' ploughing, one does six days', two weed for half a day. The case of Walter

Leche, whose holding followed the type of the other class of molmen, has been noticed above (p. 15).

Summary of *Rents and Services*.

				£.	s.	d.
Sum of	At the term of St. Michael	...	...	...	5	9 2
Rents in	At the term of All Saints	...	...	...	0	0 10½
money.	At the term of Easter	...	...	...	0	11 3
	At the term of the Nativity of St. John Baptist	...	...	...	0	17 11½
	At the term of St. Peter ad Vincula	...	...	...	0	3 5½
Sum of rents in money	At the term of St. Michael	...	...	...	0	6 1
of the Freeholders.	At the term of Easter	...	...	...	0	3 7½
Sum total, £7. 12s. 4½d. [<i>sic</i>].						

Besides the palfry, which is rendered at the end of nine years, and the good mewed sparrowhawk at the end of six years, and the leash of hounds at the end of three years, as appears above (p. 35 n^a).

Sum of fowls of rent ... 46 hens and 1 cock.
Sum of geese of rent ... 3 geese.
Sum of eggs of rent ... 370 eggs, or less ("per minus").
Sum of carriage of wood, 20 cartloads; price of each, 1d.
Sum of collection of straw, 32 heads? (capita); price of work, ¼d., if not collected.
Sum of rent of oats, 167 quarters 7 bushels and two parts of 1 bushel.
Sum of ploughings per year, 483 or less; price of a ploughing, 3d.
Sum of carryings (horse) per year, 99; price of a carrying, 1d.
Sum of reaping works without food, 434 or less; price of one work, 1d.
Sum of reaping works with food, 285; price of one work, ½d.
Sum of works between feast of St. Michael and the Gule of August (1 August), 1,462; price of one work, ½d.
Sum of mowing works, 84; price of each work, 1d.
Sum of weeding works, 86; price of one work, ¼d.
Sum of haymaking, 85 half days; price of one work, ¼d. (but they do not pay, as they say).
Sum of carting corn and hay, 86 half days; price of one work, 2d.

Outlok in Tybenham.

Of John ate Wro for licence of pasturing in the pasture of Banham
Outwode by the year with 180 sheep and 3 rams,

			2 capons	1 hen	20 eggs.
Of John Albry	...	with 2 rams and 240 sheep	4 hens	80	„
„ William Ploket	...	2 „ 120	„ 2 „	40	„
„ Robert Goos	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ John Buntynge	...	2 „ 120	„ 2 „	40	„
„ William Hawys...	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ John Coteler, sen.	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ John Coteler, jun.	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ Thomas Alpe	...	2 „ 120	„ 2 „	40	„
„ Roger Beed	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ Roger de Fornecete	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ William Gocher...	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ John Housbonde	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ Matilda Brid	...	1 „ 60	„ 1 „	20	„
„ William Tadyman de Whydenham,		3 capons.			

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF WYKES IN BARDWELL, SUFFOLK.

“These are the names of the *Freeholders* of Richard¹
son of Henry son of Nicholas de St. Edmund at Wykes.”

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.	
			s.	d.	s.	d.
1.	Thomas de Stanton	... A wood & 30 acres	4	0	7½	²
2.	Henry le Clerk	... 4 acres	...	0	3	0

¹ In a Lay Subsidy Roll in the Public Record Office (²⁴²~~241~~) of the date of 1283, under Bardwell, Sir William de Pakenham is described as lord of the Manor of Wykes, and next to him on the Roll comes Henry son of Nicholas de St. Edmund. From this and the occurrence of other names on that Roll and in this Extent, it would seem that the date of the Extent must be about the close of the thirteenth century. Nicholas de St. Edmund successfully claimed the patronage of Bardwell Church against the Prior of Bromholm in 55 Hen. III. (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*, p. 179).

² The amounts are proportional parts of a Scutage of 20s.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
3.	John Estelyn	5 acres	0	8	0
4.	William Aubry de Langham, sen.	2½ acres	3	0	0
5.	William Aubry de Langham, jun.	Messuage & 6 acres	3	0	1½ (a.c.) ¹
6.	John Bude de Langham	Messuage & 20 acres	5	5	5 (a. c.)
7.	Reginald Derlingde Asshfeld	1 rood of meadow of tenement Depmere	0	1½	0
8.	Katerine, daughter of Geoffrey de Stanton ...	Tenement "de Burnevill in Gnadeshale"	8	0	7½
9.	William de Brakelond, chaplain	Messuage & 8 acres of tenement Beerd Messuage and 15 acres of tenement William Aylyld ...	2	0	3½
10.	John son of Thomas de Brakelond	1 acre of tenement Aylyld purchased of William ...	0	3	0½
11.	Geoffrey de Houton ...	8 a. with messuage 2 a. of ten. Gerard	2	0	0 (a. c.)
12.	Henry Manser	1 a. of ten. John Symonds	0	5½	0½
13.	Thomas le Talliur ...	Ditto	0	4½	0½
14.	Henry Coppele	3½ a.	0	1	0
15.	Peter le Hunte	Mess. of ten. Duk. 1½ a. of ten. J. Symonds 1 a. of ten. W. Aylild Rent received of Thomas le Talliur	0 0 0 0	0½ 6 1½ 1	0½ 0½
16.	Henry le Palmer ...	1 a. of ten. J. Symonds	0	4½	0½
17.	William de Ingham ...	3½ a. of ten. J. Symonds 5 roods of ten. Bude	1 0	0 4½	0½
18.	John le Bercher ...	Messuage	0	2	0 (2g. c.)

¹ See above, p. 22 n¹.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
19.	William de Cauendish	Messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. J. Symonds	0	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
20.	William de Littlemor, chaplain	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	1	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Also as mesne between the lord and Hughtred de Anegos, tenant of William	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres 1 rood ...	0	10	
21.	William Bude, chaplain	Messuage and 1 a. of ten. Finnok ... 4 a. of ten. Gyngel	0	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
22.	Henry Alured	1 a. of ten. le Hore 1 r. of ten. Bude...	0	6	
			0	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
23.	Adam Swyft	1 acre	0	1	0
24.	John son of William Alured	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ roods of ten. Hardheved	0	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
25.	William, son of Hugo Bude	Messuage and toft	0	6	(2 g. c.)
26.	Henry Gowel ¹	Messuage	0	6	0
27.	Henry Bude, chaplain...	Messuage 3 a. of ten. Finnok 1 a. of ten. le Hore	1	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
			0	9	
			0	4	
28.	William de Franesham	Messuage	1	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
29.	John Molendinarius ...	Messuage	2	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
30.	Genicla Attecherche ...	Messuage	0	10	0
31.	Hughtred de Anegos ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres 2 acres of tenement J. Symonds Messuage and 3 acres of tenement Bude	4	0	2(2 g. c.)
			0	8	
			0	9	
32.	John son of William de Berdewell	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre "in le Scol- tuft" Piece of meadow "sub curia Johannis capellani"	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
			1	0	

¹ Has to work one boonday in autumn as the custumari.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
33.	Robert de Drenkeston ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre "in le Scole-tuft" ...	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$
	Also as mesne between the lord and heirs of Henry Thedred, tenants of Robert ...				
		1 acre 1 rood at Crudeslond ...	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	
34.	Thomas de Littlemor, chaplain ...	Messuage and 11 a. of ten. Precius ... $\frac{1}{2}$ mes. & $\frac{1}{2}$ meadow of tenement J. the chaplain ... $3\frac{1}{2}$ a. of same ten. }	1	10 0 $9\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$
35.	Hughtred de Anegos ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ mes. $\frac{1}{2}$ meadow as above, $4\frac{1}{2}$ a. of same	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$
36.	John Precius ¹ ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ mes., &c., as above, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of same ... }	0	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
37.	Henry son of Ralph de Berdewell ² ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	0
38.	Henry Sephare ...	1 a. of ten. le Hore	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$
39.	Walter le ffullere ...	3 a. of ten. Bude	0	3	$0\frac{1}{2}$
40.	William de Carlton ...	Messuage "de Holegate" ...	0	9	1
41.	William Hauteyn ...	Meadow "sub curia ³ de Holegate" ... 3 acres at Holegate tuft ...	0	6 0 9	1

¹ To this tenant is added "and because he holds the eldest-born's part ("eynyciam partem") of the tenement of John the chaplain he shall do suit at all the lord's courts for himself and his parceners." "Eynycia pars," from French aîné, is the prerogative of the eldest co-parcener of an inheritance to choose first. See *Jacob's Law Dictionary*, s.v. "Esneey." These three holdings are plainly portions of a tenement divided on the death of the holder. The rents are apportioned, but the personal obligation of suit of court is assigned to one of the new tenants.

² Among the knights who held fees of the honour of St. Edmund about A.D. 1300, this Henry paid to the Castle Guard of Norwich Castle, six shillings for two knight's fees in "Berdewelle and Stanton" (Kirkpatrick, *Religious Orders in Norwich*, p. 265).

³ The "curia" would be an enclosed courtyard containing the buildings and perhaps garden. "Sub curia," immediately outside the yard.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
42.	William le Bretun	... 5 roods ...	0	2	} 0½
		1 acre of ten. Peet	0	3	
43.	Thomas le Bretun	... 2 acres ...	0	6	} 0½
		1 rood of ten. Thos.			
		Bude de Sutherton	0	0½	
		1 r. of ten. Thedred	0	0½	
44.	Robert Pretius	... Mess. & 4 a. of ten			} 1
		Thedred ...	0	4	
		1½ acres of ten. J.			
		Symonds ...	0	5	
		2 acres of ten. Peet	0	6	
		3 a. of ten. J. Capell	0	5½	
45.	Avicia, widow of Roger				
	Thedred	... 1½ a. of ten. Bretun	0	1½	0
46.	Heirs of Henry Thedred	Mess. and 10½ acres	0	10½	} 0½
		5 roods of ten. Peet	0	5	
47.	Heirs of Gilbert Thedred	Mess. and 6 acres	0	6	0
48.	Ralph "faber" ...	Messuage, 1½ acres			
		1 r. of ten. Thedred	0	1½	0
49.	John de Buxhale	... 2½ acres of ten. Peet	0	9	} 1
		5 r. of ten. R. Bude	0	3½	
		3 r. of ten. Bretun	0	0½	
		1 r. of ten. le Hore	0	0½	
50.	Edmund le Spenser	... Mess. & 12 acres of			} 1
		ten. Bretun ...	1	0	
		3 acres of ten. Bude	0	7	
		5 roods of ten. Peet	0	3½	
51.	William Hert	... 2½ a. of ten. Le Hore	0	10	} 0¾
		1 r. of ten. Th. Bude	0	0½	
52.	William Tumble	... 1 a. of ten. Bretun	0	1	0
53.	Nicholas Hert	... 1 a. of ten. Bretun	0	1	0
54.	John son of Edmund				
	Shipman	... 1½ a. of ten. Thedred	0	1½	0
55.	William de Suthenton,				
	chaplain	... Messuage "Stur-			
		myn" ...	0	3	0
56.	Thomas Bude de Suthen-				
	ton, clerk	... 5 r. of ten. Finnok	0	3½	0½

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
57.	Peter Julien ...	2 a. of ten. Peet	0	6	} 0½
		½ a. of ten. Bretun	0	0½	
		1 r. of ten. le Hore	0	1½	
58.	John de la fforthe ...	3 a. of ten. Warin and Hardheved ...	1	0	0¼ (2g.c.)
59.	Thomas Cokerel ...	½ a. of ten. le Talliur	0	1½	0¼
60.	William Aubry de Wykes	2 acres of ten. J. Symonds ..	0	7	0½
61.	John Shipman ...	10 acres 1 rood ...	2	0	2½
62.	Odo, the chaplain ¹ ...	Messuage and 1½ a.	0	3	0
63.	Robert del Hel ² ...	Messuage and 4 a.	2	0	} ½ (2g.c.)
	(in margin "ate hyl")	3 roods of ten. Peet	0	2½	
64.	Odo the chaplain ...	All these hold mes- suages and 9 acres of ten. Marger' ...	3	0	1½
65.	Thomas Priour ...				
66.	William le Hunte ...				
67.	William de Tatingtre ...				
68.	William Rust, sen. ...				
69.	Richard Hog ...				
70.	Thomas le Hunte ...				
71.	Henry le Chapman ...				
72.	Geoffrey de Houton ...				
73.	Margar' Hayl ...				
74.	William Payn ...				
	Also one court, formerly of William Rust, let to Isabella Rust ...		0	6	0
75.	Robert le Thachere ...	3 acres ...	4	0	0
76.	Mem. that Richard "le fuit Nichole" ³ acquired of William son of Thomas de Stanton 2s. 6d. rent, to be collected from ten. Sefrey and from John or Geoffrey Semele (and) William Bude barker, and the sons of Litlemor and others pay the rest ...		2	6	0

¹ Odo holds of the lord, who holds as mesne between Odo and Henry de Berdewell.

² Has to do three boondays as custumarii.

³ This is meant for "Fitz Nichole," a family name derived by Richard from his grandfather. (See the heading of the Roll).

Custumarii.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
1.	Adam de Depmer de Walsham ¹	Mess. and 2 acres	0	9	0½ (a. c.)
2.	Hugo de Depmer ²	Mess. and 2 acres	0	9	0½ (a. c.)
3.	William de Depmer	Mess. and 15 acres	4	6	3¾ (a. c.)
4.	William Spot	4 acres	1	6	1 (a. c.)
5.	Stephen de Depmer ³	Mess. and 4 acres	1	6	} 1 (a. c.)
		5 acres of same ten.	4	6	
6.	William, son of William Shipman ⁴	Mess. and 6 acres	1	4	} 2½ (a. c.)
		4½ a. 1r. of ten. Galion	0	4	
7.	John Larke	5 acres	0	0	} 0 (a. c.)
		1 pightle of ten.			
		Talbot	1	0	
8.	Geoffrey le Reve	Mess. and 2 acres	0	0	0 (a. c.)
		Mess. and 2 acres of ten. le Hore	0	0	} 1
		5 roods of ten. Har- heved	0	1½	
9.	Alexander le Saltere de Stanton	Messuage and 6 a.	1	5	1½ (a. c.)
10.	William son of Adam "fabri" de Stanton	1½ acre	0	7	0 (a. c.)
11.	Edmund Godwyne	Messuage and 4 a.	0	0	0 (a. c.)

¹ Also holds freely of fees of other lords; of Albr' Unfrey, 1 rood, rent ¼d.; of Ralph le Skinnere half an acre, rent ½d.; of Alice Marger, 1½ rood, rent 1¼d.; in all 2d., to be paid to the lord, who will acquit Adam to the other lords. This applies to all similar rents.

² Also freely of other lords, same as Adam, and does same services, "ut predictum est de Adam parcenario suo."

³ Also freely of fees of other lords, Abbot of St. Edmund, 5 roods, rent 1¼d.; of Ralph le Skinnere, 1 acre, rent 1d.; of Adam Ingold, 1 acre, rent ¾d.; of Albr' Unfrey, half an acre, rent ½d.; of Alec' Marger, 1 acre, rent ¾d.; of Thomas Marger, 1 acre, rent ½d.; in all 4½d. to be paid, &c.

⁴ Also freely of William son of Robert Aubry de Langham, 3 acres, rent 3d.; of John Ashcroft, 3 roods, rent 1¼d.; of Nicholas de Stanton, 1 acre, rent 2d.; in all 6½d.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
12.	Ralph Hog	Messuage and 4 a. of tenement Drayl	4	0	0 (2 g.c.)
13.	William le Knyght	Messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ a.	0	4	0 (a. c.)
14.	Robert le Do ¹	Messuage and $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. Beumund	0	3	} 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
		3 r. of ten. Aylild	0	1	
15.	John le Do	Messuage and 4 a. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. Beumund	0	0	0 (a. c.)
			0	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
16.	Henry le Palmere	2 a. of ten. Beumund	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
17.	Walter le Palmere	Messuage and 4 a. of tenement Grace	0	0	0 (a. c.)
		2 a. of ten. Beumund	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
18.	John Bude	Messuage and 12 a.	0	0	0 (a. c.)
19.	Adam Aunselm...	Messuage and 3 a.	1	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
20.	Geoffrey Bude ² ...	Messuage and $\frac{2}{3}$ a. of ten. le Hore; 8 a. of ten. Hardheved	0	8	} 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
		1 acre acquired of John Polle; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre acquired of J. Bude	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		$\frac{2}{3}$ a. of ten. Bude	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
21.	Alicia, daughter of Geoffrey Bude	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre and $\frac{1}{2}$ rood	0	1	0
22.	Henryson of Hugo Bude ³	Messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ a. of ten. le Hore	0	0	} 1 (a. c.)
		3 a. of ten. Hardheved	0	3	
23.	Thomas de Littlemor, ⁴ chaplain	2 mess. and 26 acres	3	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)

¹ Also freely of Alic Brighthwyne de Stanton, 2 acres 1 rood, rent 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of John de Buxhale, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; in all 3d.

² Also freely of Alex. de Stanton, 1 acre, rent 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Thomas Oldegood, 1 rood, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Adam Reynald de Stanton, $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Church of St. Peter of Berdewell, 1 rood, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; in all 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

³ Also freely of Alexander de Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Thomas Oldegood, $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of Adam Reynald de Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; in all 1d.

⁴ Holds for his life. After his death his heirs to do services in addition to same rent.

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
24.	Geoffrey son of William de Littlemor ...	Mess. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ a. 1 r.	0	$6\frac{1}{2}$	1
25.	William son of William de Littlemor ...	Each of these being partners of Geoffrey, holds & does as Geoffrey ...	1	1	2
26.	John, his brother ¹ ...				
27.	Ralph Payn ...	Mess. and 4 acres	0	0	0 (a. c.)
28.	Henry Godefrey ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$ acres ...	6	0	0 (a. c.)
29.	Henry Rust, sen. ² ...	Mess. and 6 acres	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$	$0\frac{1}{2}$
		Mess. and 1 acre of ten. Hereward, 3 roods of ten. J. Symonds ...			
30.	William Payn ³ ...	Mess. and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 1 a. of meadow of ten. Bretun ...	1	7	2 (a. c.)
31.	Geoffrey Wyote... ..	Messuage and 1 a. And for ten. Bretun	0	2	$0\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
32.	Stephen Wyote, ⁴ brother of Geoffrey ...	Same as preceding	0	2	$0\frac{1}{2}$

¹ These three tenants hold freely, "de perquisitis ejusdem Willelmi," $16\frac{1}{2}$ acres, rendering $16d.$, viz., to Alex. de Stanton, $5d.$; to the hall of Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Nicholas Wulurich of the same, $1d.$; to Thomas Priour of the same, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to William Hathewulf of the same, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to William le Bretun, $2d.$; to Richard Armeiard, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to John de Buxhale, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Robert Attelhel, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Henry de Berdewell, $1d.$; to William le Hunte (as of the right of Margaret his wife) $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Adam Aunselm, $1d.$; to Church of St. Peter of Bardwell, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to Robert le Do, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; to be paid to the lord, who will acquit them to the other lords.

² Also of William de Brakelond, chaplain, 1 rood, rent $1d.$; and of Adam Aunselm, 1 acre, rent, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; in all, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$

³ Also freely of John son of William, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, rent $11d.$; of Adam Aunselm, 3 acres, service $2d.$; to Thomas Redheved, 1 rood, service $1d.$; of the heirs of Thomas Mus, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Katherine, daughter of Geoffrey de Stanton, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1d.$; of Richard de la Dale, 1 rood of meadow, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Peter Atteherne, $\frac{1}{2}$ rood of land and meadow, rent $\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Robert Abot, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Henry de Berdewell, 1 rood of meadow, rent $2d.$; of Henry Manser, 1 acre, rent $2d.$; in all $1s. 11\frac{1}{2}d.$

⁴ Also freely of Katherine de Ayscroft, 3 roods, rent $3d.$

	Tenant.	Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
33.	Robert Dumbhowe ¹	... Messuage and 2 a.	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
34.	Pagan Dumbhowe	... } Each same as {	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
35.	William, his brother	... } Robert ...	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
36.	William le Hunte	... Messuage and 6 a. of ten. Bude ... 2 acres of ten. Rust $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of ten. Hog $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow	3	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.)
37.	Peter Alecok ²	... Messuage and 5 a. of tenement Hog 1 a. of ten. Gerard	0	10 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a. c.) 0
38.	Richard Hog ³	... Messuage and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ a.	1	3	2 (a. c.)
39.	Adam Alecok ⁴	... Mess. and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	0	4	1 (a. c.)
40.	Peter Alecok	... Same as Adam, $\frac{3}{4}$ a.	0	4	1
41.	Heirs of Henry Rodlond	Same as Adam and Peter, 7 acres ...	0	8	2
42.	Robert de Tatingtre	...	1	4	4
43.	John de Tatingtre	... } All same as Adam,			
44.	Roger de Tatingtre	... } 14 acres.			
45.	William de Tatingtre	...			
46.	Thomas le Ropere	...	1	4	4
47.	John son of Stephen ad crucem ...	... } Same as heirs of Rodlond, 14 a.			

¹ Robert holds freely of Church of Berdewell, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $\frac{1}{2}d.$; Pagan holds freely of John son of William, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1d.$; and of Thomas Redheved, 1 rood, rent $1d.$; Robert, Pagan, and William hold freely of Church of Berdewell, 2 acres, rent $2d.$; and of heirs of Thomas Mus, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; in all $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ In margin against this entry is marked "Estrete," which includes the tenants from William Payn (30), to W. Dumbhowe (35).

² Also freely, by right of Alvena his wife, of Alex. de Stanton, $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $8d.$; of Robert Balheved, 3 roods, rent $1d.$; of Henry de Berdewell, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $2d.$; of heirs of Thomas Mus, $\frac{1}{2}d.$; in all $11\frac{1}{2}d.$

³ Also freely of John son of William, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Henry de Berdewell, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1d.$; of heirs of Thomas Mus, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; of Peter le Hunte, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, rent $1d.$; in all $5d.$

⁴ All the tenants from 39 down to 47 form a group marked as "Westrete," holding equal shares of $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres each, except 41, 46, and 47, who hold double portions. See above, p. 20.

Tenant.		Holding.	Rent.		Scutage.
			s.	d.	d.
48.	Heirs of Alured le ffishere	Mess. and 4 acres, 6 acres of ten. Shanke, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre called Stonyland	0	1	0 (a. c.)
49.	Heirs of William Abelot ...	Mess. and 1 acre	0	0	
			s.	s.	d.
Sum of rent at term of St. Michael ...			3	6	10
Sum of rent at term of Easter ...			3	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sum of total rent per annum ...			6	10	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

SERVICES.

Freeholders.—Except in the case of two specified above as owing four boondays, no labour services are required of the freeholders.

Custumarii.—These are of great interest, but it is impossible here to note more than their main features. The first, Adam de Depmer, is a type of a somewhat light service. He pays rent and scutage and does suit at all courts. "And he shall work in autumn three-quarters of one beneday with the lord's food once in the day. And if the beneday has been a whole day he is to have his dinner and supper of the lord, according to the custom of the manor, to wit, that of one bushel of corn shall be baked sixteen loaves, whereof two labourers with the lord's food shall have at their dinner two loaves and vegetables (legumen) and one dish (ferculum) of meat or fish and use of the oven (fornagium). And at his supper each labourer by himself [to take to his own home] one loaf of the aforesaid measure and two herrings."

The seventh tenant, John Larke, forms a type of another kind of service. His entry runs thus: "John Larke holds 5 acres of land. And he shall reap in autumn four gouilacres without the lord's food, to wit, two of winter corn (de blado yemali) and two of barley. And he shall work in autumn three benedays with the lord's food, as

has been aforesaid of Adam de Depmer. And he shall give at the Nativity of the Lord one hen and at Easter six eggs. And he shall work yearly from the feast of St. Michael every week one work—except the Nativity of the Lord and the weeks of Easter and Pentecost—until he shall have done forty works. So, however, that if he shall have dug or made ditches (*fossata*) or worked any other work on the land (*opus terraneum*) for a whole day it shall be allowed him for two works. And if he shall have thrashed and cleaned (*triturerit et emundaverit*) one quarter of wheat or rye (*frumenti aut siliginis*) beans or peas it shall be allowed him for four works. And for thrashing and cleaning of one quarter of barley he shall be allowed for one work. Likewise in time of weeding (*sarculationis*) for every whole day on which he has hoed the lord's corn before the feast of St. John Baptist shall be allowed him two works, and after that feast one work only. And in time of mowing (*falcationis*) in respect of haymaking (*circa fena colligenda*) for every whole day two works."

The main points here are the scale of allowances towards making up the requisite number of week-works and the reaping of "gouilacres." Reference has already been made to this service (p. 19). It is rendered by about half the customary tenants, not in any case by freeholders, and is attached to certain specified portions of their holdings. It may be as well to quote some other instances. Geoffrey le Reve (8) has to reap 4 gouilacres in respect of a messuage and 2 acres of land; and again, 1 gouilacre in respect of a messuage and 2 acres of tenement le Hore; and $\frac{1}{2}$ gouilacre in respect of 5 roods of tenement Hardheved. The four tenants, numbered 14 to 17, evidently form a group. Robert and John le Do each hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, and Henry and Walter le Palmer each hold 2 acres, all of tenement Beumund. In respect of these holdings each has to

reap half an acre and half a rood and 3 "pedates" of 1 goul-acre. Or take the case of Adam Alecock (39) who stands for the type of the "Westrete" group. Each holds $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and each has to reap in autumn "half a goul-acre, half a rood, $2\frac{1}{2}$ pedates and a quarter of a pedate" ($2\frac{3}{4}$ pedates). It is difficult from our Roll to form any judgment as to the precise nature of this service, or what were the lands in respect of which it was performed. In John Larke's case his holding of 5 acres is apparently an ordinary holding of customary land, and the obligation is spoken of as a service similar to that of week-work, which follows it. The "goul-acres" therefore would seem to be some special portion of the lord's land, so called, on which ordinary labour service could not be required. And this may account for the special measure of "pedates" applied to it. A "goul-acre" is divided into roods and pedates. Du Cange gives us a word "peda," which contains "4 teisas," a teisa being 6 feet square. A "peda" would be a piece of ground 24 feet square. Several of our entries suggest a different measure for a "pedata." Thus Adam Aunselm (19) holds 3 acres, and has to reap $2\frac{1}{2}$ goul-acres and 11 pedates. It is a reasonable guess that the 11 pedates make half an acre, so that the land on which he worked was equivalent in measure to that which he held. This would give 22 pedates to 1 acre. In confirmation of this, G. Bude (20) holds $\frac{2}{3}$ acre of tenement le Hore, and reaps $14\frac{1}{2}$ pedates, while Henry son of Hugo Bude (22) holds the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ of this acre, and has to reap $7\frac{1}{2}$ pedates. This again makes 22 pedates to an acre. Moreover, in (37) we have mention of $5\frac{1}{2}$ pedates, and in the "Westrete" group referred to above of $2\frac{3}{4}$ pedates, both proportional parts of 22. It must be admitted that the other cases do not fall in with this equality in size between the land held and the land reaped. But that equality may have been made up in other ways; and in the

cases quoted it can hardly be a mere coincidence. Now Walter of Henley¹ says at this period, "You know well that a furlong ought to be 40 perches long and 4 wide, and the king's perch is $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet; then an acre is 66 feet [22 yards] in width." A pedate, therefore, if the twenty-second part of an acre, might be a strip a yard wide. This would be about the width a reaper would cover, grasping the corn stalks with his left hand and using a short sickle with his right.²

One other typical service is worthy of notice. Geoffrey le Reve "shall help to carry the lord's fold thrice in the year, as he shall have been forewarned by the shepherd, to wit, each time five naked hurdles (cleyas nudas), and if they are wattled (?), only three (et si wiscate fuerint, nisi tres)." Also in respect of his other holding "he shall give $\frac{1}{4}d.$ towards one plough every year, and every third year $\frac{1}{4}d.$ towards one two-wheeled cart (ad unam bigam)." With regard to the hurdles, Martin (*Record Interpreter*) gives a word "wiscare," to mend. But this seems so unsuitable in this context, especially as "wiscatæ" is plainly opposed to "nudæ," that I venture to think the first word describes plain open hurdles, and the other hurdles covered with interwoven osiers. The former would be much easier to carry.

¹ Miss Lamond's Edition, p. 9. A diagram is given in Cunningham, p. 114.

² See the excellent illustrations of reaping and other agricultural works in Green's *History of the English People*, illustrated edition, by Mrs. Green, vol. ii. pp. 476 and 499.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—"Hutahote," p. 26. Another possible explanation of this word may be given. "Outshot" or "Outshut" was a name applied to a room or other building added to a primitive timber-framed house, and made accessible by piercing the walls without interfering with the timber frame-work. The "2 hens" rendered by Geoffrey le Blo "pro hutahote" may have been an acknowledgment of such an additional accommodation provided for his cottage. See Addy, *Evolution of the English House* (Social England Series), pp. xxi., 42, 50.



PLATE I. SOUTH LOPHAM CHURCH.
NORTH-WEST WALL OF NAVE.

OLEER S. ALSEN, D.D.

South Lopham Church.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. CANON MANNING, M.A., F.S.A.

THIS church is, to an antiquary, much the most interesting of those we have seen to-day¹; and to the student of architecture it presents a fine example of the earliest English style. We have here not only a massive Norman central tower, which from its high situation forms a conspicuous feature in the landscape, but also, as I believe, considerable remains of pre-Norman or pre-Conquest masonry, in the whole length of the north wall of the nave. If this be so, it is convenient to call such work "Saxon," although in the older books of architecture and topography you will find a great deal of what is

¹ This paper was read by the Rev. Canon Manning at South Lopham Church, on the occasion of an excursion to local churches organised by the University Extension Committee. At the request of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society he had engaged to re-write it for publication in this present issue, and at the time of his lamented death he was understood to have been doing so. He was known to have made arrangements about the accompanying illustrations. No such MS., however, was found amongst his papers. The Committee therefore decided to reprint the Paper as read at the time and published in the *Diss Express* of October 21st, 1898. It will be read with regret as the last of the numerous contributions of its gifted author to the Original Papers of this Society.

much later than the Norman Conquest called Saxon. A large number of country churches in Norfolk and Suffolk, as elsewhere, have features of this pre-Norman class. They consist of thick rubble walls, usually preserved on the north side only, with large flints laid generally in regular courses, as at Scole and Thorpe Abbots; small windows mostly circular, deeply splayed both inwards and outwards, as in the one here; quoins of "long-and-short" work, as in a fragment at Scole; arches without ashlar facing, with little or no imposts (Gissing may be one); occasionally triangular arches to doorways and windows, as at Great Dunham; towers, either round with round windows, or square without quoins, and with baluster-shafts in the windows, as at Great Dunham, Haddiscoe, and St. Benet's, Cambridge.

In a few notes I read some years ago at Framingham Earl, near Norwich, where there are chancel windows exactly like this one here, with a wooden frame and eyelet holes in it, to pass cords or osiers through to keep out birds and weather, I referred to one probable cause for the apparently sudden increase in church building immediately after the year 1000. There had been a common idea everywhere that the millenium was to arrive in the year 1000, and the world would come to an end, consequently there was not much effort or spirit in expensive undertakings, and with architects and masons no doubt "business was dull." But as soon as the critical year was over, and nothing had happened, church building among other things would revive; wooden structures were replaced by stone; the Saxon lords, about the time of Edward the Confessor, built or renewed churches on their estates until they lost their land and manors, deprived of them by the conquering William, who distributed them afresh among his nobles.

There is no mention of a church at Lopham in *Domesday*

1



PLATE II. SOUTH LOPHAM CHURCH.

Book; but that is of no weight in disproof of one having existed there. There are very many similar cases. The object of the great Survey in 1086 had nothing to do with enumerating the churches. It was to ascertain for the Conqueror the amount of taxable land, and how much stock, &c., it would support, in order to get a fair assessment. The Commissioners might sometimes mention a church and glebe, or not; for often the value of the glebe would be included in the gross rental of the owners. I venture to think that we have here the north wall of a church built in the first quarter of the eleventh century, or about 1020. The little round window (Plate I.) with its wooden frame still preserved is most curious, and I trust the parish authorities will always see that it remains safe and untouched. There was, probably, a series of such windows in the wall, and they may be there now, blocked up. The opposite wall on the south side was of course destroyed when the aisle was built. There may have been a round tower at the west end. The chancel must have stood where the present tower is, and beyond, and probably had a round apse at the east end.

The next portion of the church in regard to date is the fine central tower (Plate II). This grand example of Norman architecture, surrounded by fine trees, has long been a study both for the antiquary and the artist. The etching which Cotman published of it has given a character of rudeness and age to the masonry that exceeds the reality. It must be admitted to be the most important building of the kind in the neighbourhood or indeed in the county; for omitting the Cathedral tower I know of no other superior to it. We find from Blomefield's history, whose account here there seems no reason to question, that "Roger Bygot, Earl of Norfolk, who was possessed of this manor at the Survey, died in 1107, and was buried in the priory church at Thetford, which he had built, leaving William

his son and heir, who gave the church at Lopham to the monks of Thetford in the time of Henry I., which was appropriated and then confirmed to that house, with all its appurtenances, by King Henry II." ¹ The architecture of the tower is consistent with work of the early part of the twelfth century, and I would therefore place its date at about 1110. It is divided into five stages. Externally, the lower stage has a Norman doorway on the south side, with a decorated window inserted. The second has two large semi-circular arches, filling the whole width of the tower, proving that the church could not have had transepts. The third has an arcade of six semi-circular arches on shafts, with cushion capitals, two of the arches being pierced for light. On the north face these are reduced to four by a large projecting square staircase extending from the ground to the top. The fourth stage has a double Norman window, and the uppermost has a large double belfry window with cushion capitals, and on each face a pair of round sound-holes not splayed either way. This is surmounted by a battlement of Perpendicular date. On the east and west faces of the tower is a pair of small flat buttresses rising into semi-circular shafts in the upper stages, and finishing with capitals. The south side has two large buttresses of six stages. Internally, the tower has two good round plain arches (Plate III.) opening into the nave on the west, and to the chancel on the east. These used to be entirely filled up from the spring of the arches with a wooden ringers' gallery, apparently of the sixteenth century, which probably also served the purpose of a rood-loft, some carving having remained on the western side. Some years ago, when the Rev. J. F. Bateman was rector, this gallery was elevated a stage higher in the tower, leaving the arches clear, which was

¹ Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, 8vo. i. 228.



PLATE III. SOUTH LOPHAM CHURCH.
INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.

CLEER B. ALGER, DISE.

an improvement in the appearance, but at the sacrifice of an example of ancient arrangement.

It may be a question in the minds of some why a church was built with a tower in the middle, causing the chancel to be separated from the nave by a narrow space. The use prevailed from very early times, but seems to have gone out of fashion, except for very large churches, after the Norman period. Where there were no transepts, as in this church, the sight from the nave through the tower is a good deal obscured, but we must remember that no aisles were provided at first. Of course in cathedrals and conventual churches, with wide arches and lofty piers, there is no obstruction to the view. I believe that the object was, where funds sufficient were forthcoming, to give dignity and stateliness to the building, and make a fine architectural composition, and as the chancel or eastern arm would be short, the choir stalls would extend under the tower, and thus the arrangement would be fairly convenient, and more so than it may seem to us now. Our forefathers did not build to please the gaze of "trippers," nor without good reasons, but for worship, and use and durability. The light from Norman windows was dim, as well as religious, and when in later styles large windows and floods of light were introduced, the central towers appeared no more; and as aisles were generally added, and often chantry chapels besides, the towers frequently tumbled down, and that is why we have so few of them left.

The rest of the church is of later date. The chancel, according to Blomefield,¹ was built (but you now see it much restored) by Nicholas de Horton, Rector from 1361 to 1380, and the nave pillars and the aisle were apparently erected at the same time. The clustered pillars and the

¹ *Ibm.* p. 232, note 4.

late Decorated windows of the aisle, are characteristic of the style prevalent in the latter part of the reign of Edward III., when flowing tracery succeeded to geometrical, and soon began to show symptoms of transition to the Perpendicular style. Windows of the pattern seen here are rather common in the neighbourhood, and there are some good examples at Attleborough. The font is also to be ascribed to the same date. The large west window of the nave and the clerestory windows and the roof are Perpendicular. Between the clerestory windows outside are flint panels with monograms. There is one of the small windows called "Low-side," for want of a better name, in the chancel, the use of which has been the subject of very long controversy. It seems likely that in most cases they were intended for ringing an outside sanctus bell. A chapel, formerly on the north side of the chancel, was only evidenced by a piscina on the outside wall until recent years, when a vestry has been built on the site.

During the inspection of the church by the visitors the Rev. E. Farrer called attention to a poppyhead under the tower, with an elephant and castle upon it, the badge of the Beaumont family. Katherine, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, held the Manor of Lopham in dower, after the Duke's death in 1432, and married for her third husband some years later, John, Viscount Beaumont, who was killed in battle in 1460. The date of this woodwork, and probably of other Perpendicular work, would therefore be fixed at about 1450-60.

Several of the party ascended the tower, and enjoyed the grand view from this the highest point in Norfolk; and also from the Rectory Garden, where tea was provided.

NOTES ON
The Palimpsest Brass of Robert Rugge, 1558,
In the Church of St. John Maddermarket,
Norwich.¹

COMMUNICATED BY

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A.

PREVIOUSLY to the restoration of the Church of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, in 1863, it was thought desirable to detach the monumental brasses from their slabs and to remove them temporarily from the church, in order to ensure their better preservation. A small piece of the Rugge brass had been for some time loose in the church chest, and was known to be palimpsest. An examination of the remaining plates showed that nearly the whole of the brass was made up of earlier pieces.

THE OBVERSE.

The brass to Robert and Elizabeth Rugge is of a type common in Norwich churches. It is of rough coarse

¹ In 1863 the late Mr. John L'Estrange read to the Society a paper on "The Discovery of the Rugge Palimpsest." A MS. copy, which is in the possession of Mr. E. A. Tillet of Norwich, has been kindly lent to me, and the following paper is partly based upon it.

workmanship, being a product of the local school of engravers. In all it originally consisted of fourteen pieces, as follows:—

(1) The figure of Robert Rugge in civic mantle, the lower part of the legs and the feet wanting. In its present condition the figure measures $37\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length.

(2) A scroll proceeding from his mouth. This scroll has twisted ends, it measures 13 ins. by 2 ins., and is inscribed—

*Pater de celis deus
misereere nobis.*

(3) The figure of Elizabeth Rugge, measuring 35 ins. in length. She wears the kennel-shaped head dress and the usual under and over-gown of the period. The latter is fastened round the waist by a silken cord with knotted ends.

(4) A scroll from her mouth similar to (2), but inscribed—

*Fili redemptor mundi deus
misereere nobis.*

(5) A shield between the heads of the figures, having the initials R.E. interlaced by knot work.

(6) A bracket upon which the figures stand and which bears the inscription—

*Of your charytie praye for the soules of Robarte Rugge Esquier
sometime alderman and twyse Mayor of this worshipfull citie of .
Portwich, and Elezabeth his wyffe which had issue betwixe them
foure sonnes and iiij daughters and the saide Robt Rugge
departed this transitory life the xviij dage of Februarie in
the yere of our Lord God 1558, of whose soules
save you Jesu haue mercye Amen.*

This bracket measures $31\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 24 ins.





NORWICH. ST. JOHN MADDERMARKET.

PALIMPSEST REVERSES OF ROBERT RUGGE. 1558.

(7) A square plate, $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins., bearing the kneeling figures of five sons in doublets and knee breeches.

(8) A scroll proceeding from the corner of the plate, similar in style to (2) and (4), but inscribed—

Deus propicius esto
animabus parentū nrōr'.

(9) A square plate, bearing the figures of the daughters; lost.

(10) A scroll similar to (8).

(11) A shield at the upper dexter corner, charged with the arms of Rugge, (*Gules*), a *chevron engrailed between three pierced mullets (argent)*, with helmet, mantling, and crest, *A talbot passant, argent; collared, ringed, and eared sable*.

(12) A shield at the upper sinister corner, charged with the arms of Rugge only.

(13) A shield at the lower dexter corner, with the merchant's mark of Rugge; now lost.

(14) A shield at the lower sinister corner, with the arms of the Mercers' Company.

The brass was formerly on the floor of the south aisle, but is now fastened to the wall of the north aisle, and is in a disgraceful condition from damp and neglect. It is engraved, somewhat inaccurately, in J. S. Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, vol. i., pl. 70.

Robert Rugge was Sheriff of Norwich in 1537, Mayor in 1545, and again in 1550. His brother, William Rugge, was the last Abbot of St. Benet's Hulme, and subsequently Bishop of Norwich from 1536 to 1550. Robert was twice married: the date of the death of his first wife, Elizabeth, is unknown; his second wife was Alice, widow of William Hare: she survived him, and was buried at Plumstead.

REVERSES.

(1) The figure of Robert Rugge. This is made up of two plates, respectively measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and 18 ins., and consists of the greater portion of the centre of a large and early figure of an abbot. The figure is habited in amice, albe, maniple with broad-fringed end, and chasuble. The apparels of the albe are continued entirely round the wrists, and the amice lies loosely round the neck. The hands are encased in rich gloves, the right holding the stem of the crosier, whilst the left supports a large richly-bound and clasped book. As the lower part of the figure is wanting, except two fragments used for scrolls, it is impossible to say what other vestments were worn. The date appears to be about 1320, and the figure may be compared with that formerly at Oulton, Suffolk, to Adam de Bacon, rector, who was living in 1318, but whose brass is generally dated about 1310.¹ Effigies of abbots holding books are not uncommon, but only one brass has so far been noticed. It is at Adderley, Shropshire, to an unknown abbot, date about 1390.²

(2) and (4) Scrolls. These are both cut from the lower part of the figure of the abbot. No. (2) shows a part of the staff of the crosier and a portion of the orphrey of the chasuble. No. (4) shows part of the apparel of the albe at the feet of the figure, and also a portion of a lion's face, showing that the figure had, as in the case at Oulton, a lion at the feet.

¹ Engraved in J. S. Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, vol. ii., pl. iii.; Rev. C. Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, p. 95; Rev. H. Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses* (1861), Intro., p. cxlii.; *Photolithograph* privately published by E. M. Beloe, jun.; *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. i., p. 355.

² Engraved in *Archæological Journal*, vol. lii., p. 53.

(3) The figure of Elizabeth Rugge. This is made up of three pieces, respectively measuring 15 ins., $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. All belong to the figure of a priest in mass vestments, and may be dated about 1340.

(5) Shield with initials. This is cut out of a larger shield bearing the arms of Fastolf, *Quarterly (or) and (azure) on a bend (gules) three crosses crosslet (or)*.

(6) Bracket. The greater portion of this is blank, only the finial being palimpsest. Mr. L'Estrange says it bears a portion of a lion. The Rev. H. Haines says a portion of a canopy, but the rubbings are so indistinct, owing to the pitch on the plate, that it is impossible to say what may be intended.

(7) The sons. Blank.

(8) Scroll. Made up of bits of an armed figure and half a lion's head. Date about 1440.

(9) The daughters. Lost.

(10) Scroll. Blank.

(11) }
(12) } Rugge arms. Blank.

(13) Merchant's mark. Lost.

(14) Mercers' arms. Cut out of the figure of a lady in kirtle and mantle, c. 1440.

In all there appear to be portions of five brasses, perhaps six, if the doubtful bit of bracket is reckoned in, re-used to make up Rugge's memorial. It must be borne in mind that at this period the brass makers' shops were full of old material, the result of the spoliation of the monasteries and religious houses. Is the brass simply a make-up from this old material, gathered from various sources, or can it be identified as spoil from any particular Norfolk house? Beyond the arms of Fastolf and the

relationship between Robert and William Rugge, there is no certain ground to go upon. It may be conjectured that Robert Rugge, through his relationship with the last abbot, enjoyed great facilities for purchasing spoil from the dissolved abbey of St. Benet's Hulme. For the moment let it be supposed he did. It is known that Sir John Fastolf was buried in the abbey in 1459, in a chapel which he had erected on the north side of the presbitery, where his wife Milicent, a daughter of Sir Thomas Tiptoft, was also buried. It is not easy to date small cut-up pieces of brass; possibly the fragments of the armed figure, the lady, and the shield may have belonged together.

The evidence as to the arms of the Fastolf family is very confusing. They were divided into two branches, one of which was long settled in Norfolk, at Yarmouth, and the other at Pettaugh in Suffolk. Both of these seem to have carried three escallops on the bend. See Suckling, *History of Suffolk*, ii. 41; Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* (8vo.) vi. 97, vii. 382. In the latter history, however (viii. 150), it is stated that "Sir Henry Repps married a Fastolf who bore quarterly, or and azure, on a bend gules three cross crosslets or." So also in vol. ii. p. 544, where a rhyming pedigree of the Wodehouse family is accused of error in attributing to the Fastolfs "Upon a bend of Gules White Scallops three," instead of "crosslets three." Yet in this same History, under Pulham St. Margaret (v. 390), speaking of an effigies of Sir John Fastolf placed in a window of the church by Sir John Howes, then rector, and one of Sir John Fastolf's executors, in which the charge on the bend is "three crosslets trefflé arg.," the writer states in a foot-note, "All the family of the Fastolfs, *except Sir John*, bore hree escallops arg. on the bend." This view of the case is also taken in a paper in *Norfolk Archæology* (ii. 171),

on "Some Shields in the Ceiling of the South Aisle of St. Nicholas Church, Great Yarmouth," by Thomas William King, F.S.A., Rouge Dragon. In a somewhat full discussion of the Fastolf arms the author says, "I think it highly probable that the crosses were borne by him (Sir John Fastolf) only, and that the families of Norfolk and Suffolk were not distinguished from each other by the crosses or escallops respectively." On the whole, therefore, it is not impossible that our fragment may have been part of a brass commemorating Sir John himself.

There are no means of identifying the abbot: he may have come from any house. If from St. Benet's, it may have represented Nicholas de Walesham, who died in 1302, or Henry de Brook, who died in 1325.

As the abbey was dissolved in 1536, and Robert Rugge died in 1558, it is hardly likely that he would keep a large mass of brass in stock for so many years, wherewith to have his own memorial made. It is much more probable that his executors ordered the brass from the local maker, who turned over his stock in search of likely plates, and finally picked out these as most suitable, unwittingly leaving to future generations a complicated puzzle.

Great Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports.

REPORT BY THE BAILIFFS OF THE
CINQUE PORTS AFTER THEIR VISIT TO GT. YARMOUTH
DURING THE FREE FAIR, 1594.

COMMUNICATED BY
WILLIAM L. RUTTON, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE archives of the Cinque Port, New Romney, contain about forty reports of the nature of that now presented, and a few years since I had the opportunity of obtaining transcripts of some of them. The dates range between 1582 and 1639, an interval of fifty-seven years, which forming but a fraction of the centuries during which the connection of the Cinque Ports and Great Yarmouth existed, it is highly probable that many of this series of reports are to be found in other archives, or in private hands.

Half a century since Charles John Palmer revived the memory of the ancient connection by publishing the MS. of the elder Manship's *Greate Yermouthe*, and a few years later he produced his *History of Great Yarmouth*, being the younger Manship's *History* with considerable extension. Again, ten years since, Professor Montagu Burrows, in his *Cinque Ports* (one of the *Historic Towns* series), showed the authority they in old times exercised at Yarmouth. Thus but a very brief reference to the subject is required as preface to the Report now printed.

A similar connection between towns (or rather a confederation of towns) and one other widely separated from them by distance, has had existence nowhere else in the kingdom. In this case the representatives of certain ancient southern seaports appeared annually at an important eastern borough, and temporarily suspended its authority over its own citizens and the commercial strangers resorting to it, or at least, as later, claimed equal place on the seat of justice during a period of six weeks. And yet however monstrous that system may now seem, and however provocative of the strife which it naturally engendered, it had a reasonable origin. The fact is that "The Ports" were at the site of Yarmouth "when as yet there was none of it," and in a measure the town may be said to have been the offspring of the southern confederation. For when the sea swept over the site of the future town the Ports were there governing the concourse of fishers and fish-merchants, both native and foreign, which came hither in the autumn of each year for the great herring catch. And in the course of time, as the sea receded and the sands were laid bare, "tabernacles and booths" were pitched on them for the transactions of the "Free Fair" which became established. Here was the inception of the town of Yarmouth.

To date the beginning of the town's gradual development is manifestly impossible, though Manship, senr., quaintly pictures the even flow of the sea in the days of King Canute, and the emergence of the sands in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Certainly the earliest charter, probably the confirmation of prescriptive right and authority, seems to have been granted to the Cinque Ports by the Confessor, this appearing from the oldest existing charters of John and Edward I.¹ At the time of the Domesday Survey,

¹ The granting of privileges to the Cinque Ports as a confederation by Edward the Confessor is, however, disputed by Round (*Feudal England*, p. 565), who maintains that such a step was first taken by Edward I.

c. 1080, Yarmouth, after perhaps forty years' growth, had seventy burgesses or householders, and they worshipped in a church dedicated to St. Benedict, "on a green hill," supposed to be Fuller's Hill. Marking progress, we find the great Church of St. Nicholas partly built in 1101, and that before 1135, Henry I. had placed the government of the town in the hands of a Provost. Further advance was made in 1209, when King John by charter conferred on Yarmouth the dignity and privileges of a free burgh.

But whatever the advance of the town in importance and self-government, the ancient rights and authority of the Cinque Ports were maintained and exercised on the annual occurrence of the Free Fair, held during the six weeks between Michaelmas and Martinmas. The king, when granting his charter to the town, dared not offend the great confederation of the Ports, on whose ships he depended for the defence of his kingdom, by the abrogation of any of its privileges. To allay the strife which naturally ensued between the two authorities, of Yarmouth and of the Ports, modifications of the compact were made from time to time. In the reign of Henry VIII., the Bailiffs representing the Ports, originally ten, were reduced from four to two, and these were placed on equality with the two Bailiffs of the town. In that condition they are found in the Report now presented, which, however, witnesses to the jealousy and rivalry still continued. The causes of contention are well exemplified, as also the nature of the business transacted by the associated Bailiffs; and if we think their quarrels mean, we find set off against them the good nature and good fellowship which mutual hospitality evoked. Although they could not work together without friction, they could at least amicably eat together at dinner or supper.

The Cinque Ports continued to send their deputies to Yarmouth until 1662, the date of the last embassy. The status of the Ports had declined, the recurring contention at

Yarmouth was unpleasant, and the result unprofitable. Thus in 1663 the Brotherhood resolved "that the Yarmouth service be suspended," and it was not afterwards resumed. The ancient bond was not formally dissolved, but allowed quietly to fall into abeyance.

The controversy about Kirkley Road,¹ which was prominently brought forward on this occasion, was not in itself one of the matters in dispute between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports. It concerned the relation between Yarmouth and its neighbour Lowestoft. It subsisted for some centuries, and a full account of its various incidents may be read in Swinden's *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 614, and Gillingwater's *History of Lowestoft*, p. 76. A very brief summary must here suffice.

By the action of the flood tides from the northward, depositing shoals of sand, the mouths of the rivers on the east coast (unless the process is artificially checked) are constantly driven more and more towards the south. In consequence of this action, the mouth of the Yarmouth river in the time of Edward III. found its outlet opposite to Corton, four miles south of Yarmouth. This outlet also becoming blocked, the fishing and merchant vessels were obliged to lade and unlade their goods in the adjoining road called "Kirkley Road," which the king (46 Edw. III.) granted to the burgesses of Yarmouth with the right of taking like duties there as at Yarmouth (*Swinden*, p. 373). This grant was petitioned against not only by the men of Lowestoft, but by the Commons of the Counties of Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and six other eastern and midland counties of England, and it was repealed in 1376. It was, however, re-granted in 2 Richard II., and again, on petition, repealed three years later. Once more in 10 Richard II. the original grant was confirmed, and in 2 Hen. IV. an

¹ For the remainder of this introduction, and for the various notes on local matters, I am indebted to the Hon. Editorial Secretary.

agreement between the men of Yarmouth and Lowestoft practically left the former masters of the situation.

But then ensued a fresh phase of the controversy—where was “Kirkley Road,” and how far did it extend? This was the question in dispute at the time of our Report. Kirkley, as our readers are no doubt aware, is an ancient village on the high ground to the south of what is now Lowestoft Harbour; while the old village of Lowestoft similarly stood on the high ground to the north of the modern harbour. Naturally it might be supposed that “Kirkley Road” would at least extend as far as the place from which apparently it was named. But whatever may have been the case when the name first arose there seems to have been no such connection between the two even in the time of Edward III. So in their endeavour to include both Lowestoft and Kirkley in their jurisdiction, the Yarmouth men fell back upon another plea. Edward III. had granted them the right to take tolls within seven leuks (leugas) of Yarmouth during the Free Fair. They claimed to reckon a leuk as more than a mile, and to commence their measurement from the haven’s mouth at Corton. After some 200 years, Parliament settled in 1597 that a leuk should be counted as a mile, and that the measurement should be taken from the Crane Quay at Yarmouth. Still the dispute lingered on, and was not finally settled till a new measurement was made by order of the House of Lords on 27th May, 1662. Both Lowestoft and Kirkley were, of course, outside the limit as thus defined, but Yarmouth retained the dues in “Kirkley Road” at least till this last measurement was made. In 1594 the whole matter was still undecided. (For a summary of the later course of the controversy, see Palmer’s *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth*, vol. ii. p. 236).

THE REPORT OF THE CINQUE PORT BAILIFFS.

A record of the manner of the entertainment of Mr. John Lunsforde of Hasting, jurat, and Mr. John Mynge, gentleman, one of the jurats of Newe Romeney, Bailiffs for the Barons of the Cinque Ports unto the town of Great Yarmouth for this present year during the time of the Free Fair there, together with all the acts and proceedings had and done by and before the said Bailiffs of the Ports aforesaid only; as also together with Henry Stawnton and William Crowe of Yarmouth aforesaid, merchants and Bailiffs there this year of our Lord 1594.

Vicessimo octavo die Septembris Anno predicto. This day, after we had dined at the town of Laystoft [Lowestoft] we were earnestly requested by the merchants and chief men, inhabitants of the same town, to ride with them some quarter or half a mile out of our way to take view of the coast there, the better to understand where the road called the Kyrkelie Road of right is (and of necessity must be), about which so great controversy hath been between the town of Greate Yarmouth and them of Lowistoft. Whereunto by reason of their courteous entertainment unto us, as especially of the desire we had to know as near as we could where the said road did lie, to pleasure and relieve our fishermen of the Ports, if any question or suit should arise during the time of our being at Yarmouth between the inhabitants of Yarmouth and them, for delivering of herring and discharging of their boats in the road against Lowistofte (supposed to be the said road of Kyrkely), as the last year and other times hath been, we easily yielded our consent. At which time, riding with them of Laystoft, they brought us to a place by the seaside called, as they say, The

Mouth,¹ being full seven miles distant, as they supposed, from the town of Yarmouth, and not much more than a quarter of a mile from the town of Laystoff. Beyond which place, called The Mouth, the men of Yarmouth say this road of Kyrkely lieth; which cannot so be, say Laystoff men, because then the said road should lie out of the seven miles restored unto Yarmouth by the Statute 31 Edw. III., and should be free for any man to buy and sell there, and needed not in the said Statute to be excepted. And many other reasons they used unto us, as from the etymology of the name of the town of Laystoff *alias* Lothuwistoffe, which in French is Kyrkelye, and so the same town is called by the Frenchmen unto this day. Also from the commodiousness and fitness of the road lying over against the town of Laistoff for fishermen to ride in with their boats, and to discharge them of their herrings, as of the land lying between the town of Laystoff and it to dry their nets and to fetch away their herrings, and from the great unfitness and unlikeliness of both road and land lying beyond the said place called The Mouth for that purpose. And such-like reasons used, of all which to make a recital in this place

¹ The name of this locality (The Mouth) raises a point of considerable interest. It lay "about a quarter of a mile from the old town of Lowestoft," from it they rode "to the seaside" and so "under the town and cliffs" towards Yarmouth. This description could only answer to the great bank which then blocked out the sea from Lake Lothing (now the upper part of Lowestoft Harbour), and was cut through under the Norwich and Lowestoft Navigation Act in 1828. The name might, therefore, be held to confirm the tradition that the river Waveney had once found an outlet into the sea at that spot. This theory is maintained by Gillingwater and other writers. But a pamphlet, published by the late Mr. George Edwards, *The River Waveney: did it ever reach the sea vid Lowestoft?* Lowestoft, 1879, must be held to prove, both on geological and historical evidence, that no such communication ever existed. The general appearance of the locality may have given rise to the name. The etymological argument of the learned men of Lowestoft is obscure. Suckling, *History of Suffolk*, vol. ii. p. 60, would explain Lothawistoff as "the toft or cluster of houses by the Loth or slow river."

would be over tedious and, as we think, not very needful. Wherefore, leaving them in their demonstrations, we will return to our journey to Yearmouth.

From the place aforesaid, called The Mouth, we rode to the seaside, and so along by the sea, under the town and cliffs two miles or thereabouts, towards Yearmouth, accompanied with the men of Laystoff aforesaid. And as we passed under the town of Laystoff we met with three men, inhabitants of the town of Rye, on horseback, who that day came from Yearmouth of purpose to meet with us, and to accompany us thither. With all which company of horsemen, we passed over Yearmouth bridge about three of the clock in the afternoon, and from thence repaired unto our lodging prepared for us at the house of Mrs. Ladd, widow. Where we remained not above half an hour but a messenger came unto us from Mr. Crow, junior Bailiff elect of Yearmouth for this year, signifying unto us that the said Bailiff, his master, desired our company at dinner with him the next day; by whom we returned our hearty thanks, accepting greatly of his master's courtesy. Presently after whose departure, the like messenger came requesting us to dinner to Bailiff Staunton's on Monday following; to whom we returned like thanks, and promised them our company. Not long after the said messenger had been with us, came one Mr. John Ladd, son-in-law to our hostess Mrs. Ladd, and another gentleman of Yearmouth, by whom we understood that they, together with Mr. Controller of Yearmouth and other gentlemen to the number of nine or ten, rode purposely to Laystoffe to meet with us, and to accompany and welcome us to Yearmouth. Of whose company, by reason we rode under the town of Laistoff and under the cliffs as is aforesaid, we were prevented, and they of ours. Yet we accepting of their kindness requested and had the company of them all this night with us at supper, in part to requite their kindness towards us.

Moreover, in the evening of this day, by reason of certain talk passed between us and some of the men of Yarmouth aforesaid before supper, concerning the place of justice which the Bailiffs of the Ports ought always to have and enjoy equally and indifferently with the Bailiffs of Greate Yarmouth, and for that we understood that the Bailiffs of Yarmouth were wholly directed, and would most willingly consent unto whatsoever one Mr. Hubbarde their learned and high Steward of their court would allow, we sent our clerk unto the said Mr. Hubbarde, signifying unto him that we were desirous to talk and confer with him the next morning, at such hour as he could appoint, upon certain matters before our appearance at the Tollhouse that day, that in them we might be resolved and satisfied, for the avoiding of contention and multitude of words amongst so great a multitude of people as would then be there assembled. From whom we received this answer, that the next morning by eight of the clock he would be ready and at leisure to confer and talk with us of what matter soever we would.

Vicessimo nono die Septembris, Anno predicto. This day in the morning about eight of the clock our clerk repaired unto the house of Mr. Druery, one of the old Bailiffs of Yarmouth, where the said Mr. Hubbard lodged, to talk with him on the points above said. Unto whom we presently were directed, with whom, as with the said Mr. Druery and others of the Bailiffs and Burgesses of the town of Yarmouth then there present, we had speech as followeth. First we signified unto them, that by the relation of our predecessors Bailiffs to this town of Yarmouth the last year, our masters of the Ports at their Brotherhood¹ did understand how very kindly they were entertained and used by the Bailiffs and Burgesses of

¹ The Court at which the report of the bailiffs to Yarmouth for the previous year was read on Tuesday after the close of Easter, and at which the bailiffs to be sent were approved on the Tuesday after St. Margaret, 20th July.

Yearmouth during the time of their residency here, and that there was but this one thing in question between them of Yearmouth and the Ports, where order being taken, there would follow as friendly a meeting in Yearmouth of the Bailiffs as is of our meeting at the Brotherhood. Which controversy, said we, was only about the indifferent giving of the Queen's Arms at our first meeting, which, said we, our masters of the Ports prayed us to have our best diligence to accord with their very hearty thanks for their kind using of our late predecessors, and earnest desire that this one discord might be put in tune, that a good harmony sweet to God and pleasant to the world might be at our first meetings, and so in our whole proceedings. This, said we, is our message which we thought good but in private to deliver [rather] than to use many words in so great an assembly as will be at your Tollhouse this day, for the obtaining of that which we in right and courtesy ought to have at your hands.

Then also we required that the bar in their Tollhouse, standing before the said cloth, might hereafter be lengthened, that we, together with them the Bailiffs of Yearmouth, might be able all to stand and sit within the bar, because we do account that he which standeth or sitteth besides the bar standeth and sitteth as it were without the Court, or at the least seemeth to have less authority than they sitting against the cloth¹ and within the bar. And, lastly, we desired that at the shewing forth of our commissions, and taking of our place with the Bailiffs of this town, we might, together with

¹ Palmer, *Perlustration, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 251, says "Prisoners have always been tried in the great chamber or hall (of the tolhouse), at the upper end of which was a raised bench, on which sat the bailiffs beneath a piece of tapestry bearing the royal arms." He adds in a note, "this piece of tapestry which formed the 'Cloth of Estate,' and hung in the Tolhouse Hall at Yarmouth in the reign of Edward VI., was preserved till 1835, when it was presented to Sir Samuel Meyrick, and now adorns the grand staircase at Goodrich Castle." An account of the Tolhouse, prior to its restoration, was published by F. Danby Palmer (Buckle, Great Yarmouth, 1884).

them, occupy our places without having a fifth person in place not having any authority with us, to sit and displace any of us from the cloth and the bar.

Unto which demands of ours we received from the said Mr. Hubbard, Bailiff Druery, and others, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the same town there assembled together as is aforesaid, these answers, or the very like in effect. To the first and second demand, Mr. Hubbard answered and said they were matters not worth the demanding by us, neither of the gainsaying by them of Yarmouth, wishing us to agree and not to contend for such trifles. "For it is no matter whether the bar be altered or not, wheresoever you sit," quoth he, "your authority is as good as theirs of Yarmouth, and theirs as yours. Your authority is not given you by your places, but by virtue of your commissions. It is not, therefore, the sitting within the cloth, or within the bar, or without both, that any whit prejudiceth your authority. Wherefore these are not worth the speaking of. Concerning your third demand, you demand," quoth he, "you know not what. It hath pleased the Bailiffs and Burgesses of this town to make choice of me for their Steward, and by reason thereof have dealings in their town business, and have my place by their assignment between the Bailiffs of this town, there to sit and direct them and the whole Corporation in such cases as at our being together this day, as at other times need shall require. And moreover I am in this town a Justice of the Peace and Quorum, and by virtue thereof and my commission have authority sufficient to sit with them and you of the Ports concerning causes of keeping the Queen's peace, or else your authority will make void my commission."

"Yea," quoth Bailiff Druery, "he is of no less authority amongst us than he has reported unto you, and for this day is like and shall keep his place as heretofore hath been used. But this I promise you, and so will Mr. Bailiff Staunton and Bailiff Crowe, who are at noon to succeed me, promise

you both, that you shall have as much of the cloth and Queen's Arms as ever had any of your predecessors Bailiffs for the Ports. And as for altering the bar, he left that to the discretion of the Bailiffs aforesaid which should next succeed him. But if he were worthy to advise, the bar should not be altered, least hereafter to the prejudice of the prerogative of this the town of Yarmouth it should be said, this or that the Bailiffs of the Ports have compelled or caused us to do, as though we were to alter whatsoever they disliked.

Then Bailiff Staunton and Bailiff Crowe together promised us that we should have full as much of the cloth and arms as any of our predecessors have had. But for this day they requested us concerning the cloth to be contented as it shall fall out, as others before us have done; tomorrow and from thenceforth we doubt not, quoth they, but the cloth will serve us all four; and as for altering of the bar we should hear more very shortly. And because we seemed still discontented that a fifth person should sit with us to the displacing of any of us, being not commissioned with us, Mr. Druery aforesaid very earnestly affirmed that by his consent we should not be sent for to the Tollhouse this day. "For," said he, "I think not that you have anything to do until your commissions be read and allowed, and if that be done tomorrow morning it is time enough." "Yea," said Mr. Hubbard, "you have said well, for their authority is *a festo Sancti Michaelis*, from the feast, the feast-day being no part of the time wherein they are to exercise authority, and therefore you have said well. It is of courtesy that you call them to their places this day, you need not do it till tomorrow." With many more words to the like effect.

Unto all which answers made to our demands, in sum we replied thus:—"That if our first and second demands were of so little moment as you seem to make account, the easier they might be granted. But whatsoever reckoning you make both of cloth and bar because they neither add to nor

take away any jot of our authority, as Mr. Hubbard hath said, yet they are arguments of inhumanity and great discourtesy in you. That we being authorised by the Prince to have here during the Free Fair, with the Provost¹ of Yarmouth, royal justice, and come so far to our great charges to perform the same, and have in record the stile and prenomination,² and of courtesy and good will to grace you the Bailiffs of Yarmouth have by composition agreed that instead of the Provost you should have place with us in court; and now we have granted you a helve to your

¹ The argument here used by the Cinque Port Bailiffs may perhaps be thus explained. At the time of King John's Charter (1209), Yarmouth was still governed by a Provost or Reeve. In 1269, four Bailiffs were substituted for the Provost, a change confirmed by King Henry shortly before his death (Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 8vo. edition, xi. 300). Yet in the Dite or ordinance of 5 Edw. I. (20th May, 1277), which settled the concurrent jurisdiction during the Free Fair, the peace is to be kept, royal justice administered, complaints determined, &c., before the "Bailiffs of our Barons of the Ports and our *Provost* of Yarmouth." Swinden (p. 195), in giving this ordinance, at the word 'Provost' sets a marginal note—"In another copy it is *Bailiffs*." Probably the Yarmouth people corrected a copy of their own, while the Cinque Ports retained the original reading. In 1426 the number of four Bailiffs was reduced to two. The argument of the Portmen seems to be, "We are only bound to leave room for one Provost, but out of kindness we have allowed you to take up two places with your two Bailiffs. Now you take advantage and claim a third for a Steward also, and push us out of place altogether." It does not seem to have occurred to either party to consider how things had been managed in the early times, when frequently ten Bailiffs had come from the Ports, and had sat down with four Bailiffs of Yarmouth (Swinden, pp. 181-2-3).

² The "stile" meant the wording of the title of the joint authority as expressed in the summoning of the courts. The "prenomination" was the right of one or other of the parties to be named first. Article 4 of the Award of 1576 (Swinden, p. 226) ran thus:—"Item, that the prenomination of the title of the saide courtes to be (alternis vicibus) one yeare to the Baylyffs of the saide towne of Greate Yarmouth, and another yeare to the Bailiffs of the Barons of the saide Sinque Ports." This year the right of prenomination fell "in record" (i.e., according to the order assigned by the Commissioners) to the Ports' Bailiffs. They, therefore, all the more objected to being put in a subordinate position.

axehead will you hew and hurl us clean out of place? Our favour deserveth more kindness, which if at this our message from the grave and worshipful assembly of the Barons of the Ports you will grant us, we shall hold you wise in giving us our due. If not I pray you know, howsoever you would disgrace us by the place, our authorities are mediate from our gracious Prince and her noble progenitors, whose deputies here at this present we are to distribute justice in right with the Provost, and, by our former favours towards you, Mr^s Bailiffs of Yarmouth, with you. Take you good heed, therefore, that whilst you think you do but disgrace us you do not wrong to a more excellent person."

And as concerning our third demand we said that "neither Mr. Hubbard, his stewardship, nor his commission-of-the-peace, can or shall give him any authority with us, or to occupy any place of justice among us during the time of the Free Fair, because they who made him Steward cannot themselves but by our leaves and former agreement sit with us, and Her Majesty by the commission-of-the-peace doth not give him any such authority. And whereas Mr. Druery and Mr. Hubbard say that our commissions take no place until the day after the Feast of St. Michael, and that it is of courtesy to allow our commissions and give us our places before, we would know of them when the Free Fair hath his beginning?" Answer was made by Mr. Damett (one of the burgesses of their town) "on Michaelmas Day." Then said we, "that is the first of the forty days of the Free Fair, and in it the authority of the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports doth begin, and so continual use hath approved and expounded it, and therefore *a festo* must be understood that the Feast Day of St. Michael so soon as it hath his beginning is parcel of the time. And again, we come commissioned for the time of the Free Fair, and not from the time that your Bailiffs of Yarmouth shall see and allow our commission; it is enough for us that we are commissioned and that the time is come

wherein our commissions take force, and we accordingly tender you view of them. Be it at your choice whether you will see them or allow them or not, we will presently put our authority in execution if occasion require, not attending your calling or allowance."

"Again," said we, "if the Jury for the Queen during the time of the Free Fair should enquire of herrings sold contrary to the articles of the proclamation, would you not impose fine upon the offenders and take the benefit of those fines, yea if the offences were done and committed upon this feast-day?" They confessed that they would, for by oath the Jury should present, and by right they might take the fines. "Then doubt we not but the feast-day is a day of the Free Fair, and a day wherein we have authority whether you read our commissions and allow them or not." But to conclude our speech, because it was now time to repair to church, they of Yarmouth first thanked us in that we had made choice thus privately to confer with them, rather than in open multitude to multiply words in a business of such gravity, praying us to hope for the best, and for this day being the first day, to accept of our place as our predecessors have done, and before we departed the town they would consider more of our message.

And because time of divine service was come, with the Bailiffs and Burgesses there present we went to church. Wherein most friendly-wise they took us up with them, and gave us place next to themselves. Divine service and sermon there ended we went to our lodgings, where remaining three quarters of an hour or thereabouts we were sent for by the Bailiffs of Yarmouth to come unto the Tollhouse. Where at our coming the huge press of people would not suffer us in long time to attain the bar for anything the officers of Yarmouth or our own could do. At the last being approached and got within the bar, the seat or bench was from one end to the other so filled with the Bailiffs,

Burgesses, and other company, of purpose that they might have the glory to sit with their caps on while we did stand capless (but that we did not) until our commissions were read and allowed by them, as though our admittance were by them and not by the Ports. At all this we were silent, because we had so promised in hope of redress. They desired the sight of our commissions, which being read by their Town Clerk and viewed by their High Steward (who sat between the two Bailiffs of Yarmouth), were allowed, and we requested to take our places, which we did as heretofore hath been used on the right hand of the Bailiffs of Yarmouth. Having taken our places they called for our officers, whom we presented unto them as foloweth :—

Thomas Gaylour, to bear our Banner.¹

William Warde, jun., to blow the Horn.

William Warde, sen., and } Serjeants at the Rod.²
John Hunt,

The names of our officers being taken and recorded, we demanded view of the prisoners, which without gainsaying was granted unto us, saying that it was requested by the Bailiffs of Yarmouth that in regard the day was far spent we would do it at some other time, but we yielded not thereunto. Whereupon these prisoners following presently were brought before us to the bar :—

Symon Palmer, of Rye, fisherman, for manslaughter.

Paule Yarclye, and }
John Sympson, of London, } for cutting purses.

Which prisoners were remanded back to prison³ again,

¹ A copy of a banner, preserved at Romney, is given with the Report of the Bailiffs in 1688 in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xii. p. 164.

² By the Dite King Edward authorised the Ports' Bailiffs to have four sergeants, two of whom were to carry rods "to keep our peace." Rods (*virgæ*), or white wands, were used as emblems of authority before maces (Jewitt and Hope, *Corporation Insignia*, Introduction xxiii.).

³ Underneath the Tolhouse.

and appointed John Vernal to hang a lock on the prison door (which presently after the prisoners had returned to prison he did), and to have keeping of the said gaol together with the gaoler during our time of the Free Fair. These things done we went from thence with Bailiff Crowe to dinner, as the day before we were requested, where we were very kindly entertained and had great good cheer.

But by the way as we went Mr. Hubbarde, High Steward as is aforesaid, took Bailiff Lunsforde by the hand and said unto him, that the Bailiffs of the Ports have their yearly receiving to Yearmouth for two causes only and especially. First, to hear and determine of causes and suits moved and determinable during the time of the said Free Fair. Secondly, to sit and inquire of breach of the peace. And for the royal justice they had none, and at such sittings and times of inquiry making, any justice-of-peace might sit with them. And on the sudden he left Mr. Bailiff Lunsforde, and went to Bailiff Mynge, relating unto him what before he had said to Bailiff Lunsforde, and demanded how this might be answered. "Forsooth," said Bailiff Minge, "this day you have both heard and seen that the Bailiffs of the Ports of their own authority, notwithstanding the earnest desire of the Bailiffs of Yearmouth to have it respited, have both called and had view of the prisoners and notice of the causes of their imprisonment, and appointed a gaoler, and locked up the prison. Are you answered," said Bailiff Minge, "Yea or no, that on this Michaelmas Day our authority is in force?" "Yea," quoth Mr. Hubbard, "that hath been yielded unto you of courtesy and not of duty." "Of courtesy!" said we. "We appeal unto your own knowledge and conscience, whether Yearmouth in a matter of so great jurisdiction, commandment, and authority, would yield of courtesy, when they have not the courtesy to yield them equal place that have such and so great authority before theirs?" And, herewith he departed from us without any

one word reply, and unto Bailiff Staunton with whom he dined.

Tricesimo die Septembris, Anno predicto. Magna Jerne-mutha. Curia prima Domine Regine ibidem tenta die Lune scilicet tricesimo die Septembris Anno regni Domine nostre Elizabethe Dei gratia Anglie, Frauncie, et Hibernie Regine, Fidei Defensoris, etc., tricesimo sexto, tempore Libere Ferie ibidem, coram Johanne Lunsforde et Johanne Mynge, generosis, Ballivis Baronum Quinque Portuum hoc anno, et Henrico Staunton et Willelmo Crowe Ballivis dicte Domine Regine Burgi et Libertatis Magne Jernemuthe.

Accio nulla.

Nomina Juratorum impanelatorum ad inquirendum pro Domina Regina super articulis Liberam Feriam sive nundinas supradictas tangentibus.

YEAR: RICHARDUS MOODY, Jur.

PORT: JOHANNES GORHAM, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES SMYTHSON, Jur.

PORT: JOHANNES DURBANT, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES EAST, Jur.

PORT: THOMAS HARTE, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES SMITH, Jun., Jur.

PORT: JOHANNES PAYE, Jur.

YEAR: THOMAS GYLES, Jur.

PORT: THOMAS JOHNSON, Jur.

YEAR: JOHANNES WILLIS, Jur.

PORT: RICARDUS SWAN, Jur.

Et dies datus est juratoribus predictis ad inferendum veredictum suum usque diem Lune extunc proxime sequentem ad horam octavam ejusdem diei.

At this court it was demanded by us that trial might be made before us of the prisoners aforesaid now remaining in prison, according to right of the privileges of the Cinque Ports. But by the Bailiffs aforesaid of Yearmouth it was denied us because they were prisoners before the time of the Free Fair. And further they said that there was never trial of felons made by the Bailiffs for the Barons of the Ports during the time of the Free Fair; and if a felon should be committed to prison in the time of the Fair, yet should we have no trial of him unless we could prove that our predecessors have had it. "Wherefore," said we, "have we view of the prisoners and keeping of the gaol if we shall

not make trial of them?" They answered, "to busy ourselves." We said that by the last composition between them and us, Article 1^o,¹ we have granted unto us administration of royal justice. "Yea," said they, "as you have used and continued. Prove your continuance and use, and then you shall have trial of the prisoners." This benefit and such like we get by our composition; it had been good for us that we had never known any other composition than the king's Grants and Edict.

Ista curia adjornata est a die isto usque diem Lune extunc proxime sequentem scilicet septimum diem Octobris, et ad horam octavam ejusdem diei.

This day we dined with Bailiff Staunton, where we had good cheer and welcome.

Primo die Octobris, Anno predicto, nihil actum fuit.

Secundo die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we, together with the Bailiffs of Yearmouth, being at the Tollhouse, came before us Thomas Hodgkin who made complaint unto us against Arnold Roome late his master, for the detaining of xxiiij^s of money from him, desiring to have the law against him and our favourable aid therein. Whereupon in regard of the poor estate of the said Thomas we sent for the said Arnold, and finding him upon examination of the matter that he did owe xxiiij^s unto the said Thomas as the said Thomas had demanded, we charged him to make payment thereof, and that very shortly, or else to take such order with the said Thomas as might be to his contentment, otherwise he should be admitted to his remedy by law. Then the said Arnold promised to take present order with him for it as should be

¹ In 1576 an Award or Composition had been agreed to, of which the 1st Article ran thus: "Fyrete, that the Bailiffs of the Barons of the Sinque Ports duringe the free fayre at Greate Yermouth, shall there have the admynystration of the royall justice, and the keepinge of the peace together wythe the Baylyffes of Great Yermouth as hath bene contynued and used." —*Swinden*, p. 225.

to his liking. And so they both departed from us, and we to our lodging.

This day there dined with us Mr. Androse the preacher, Mr. Smith, customer, Mr. Browne, controller, with others of Yearmouth, and half a dozen of our neighbours of Rye.

Tertio die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we and the Bailiffs of Yearmouth met together in the forenoon in the Tollhouse, for the weighing of bread. When before us came the bakers of Yearmouth with their bread, which was weighed according to the assize before to them given, viz., *xxx*^s the quarter of wheat.

Of which assize William Durrant did

want in his ob. [$\frac{1}{4}$ d.] white loaf	-	iijoz.
In his penny white loaf	- - -	vos.
John Bishop in his ob. loaf lacked	-	iijoz.
In his ijd. wheaten loaf	- - -	xioz. iiijd.
In his jd. white	- - -	ijoz.
Roberte Robins in his ob. white loaf	-	iijoz.
In his penny white loaf	- - -	iiijoz. vjd.
Roger Watson in his ob. white loaf	-	xijd.
In his jd. wheaten loaf	- - -	vijoz. vjd.
In his ijd. household loaf	- - -	xxiijd.
Roger Cotman in his ob. white loaf		
did lack	- - - - -	iiijoz. iiijd.
In his jd. white loaf	- - -	xviijd.
In his ijd. household loaf	- - -	xixd.
Richard Mallis in his ob. white did		
lack	- - - - -	iiijoz.
In his penny white	- - -	iiijoz. vjd.
George Crayne in his ld. white loaf	-	iiijoz. vjd.
In his halfpenny white loaf	- - -	iiijoz.

For which wants the bakers aforesaid at this time were not fined, because the price of wheat was risen two or three shillings in a seam [8 bushells] also in hope of amendment in them upon a new assize to be given.

It was thought good and meet by all of us that a new assize should be set for the bakers, and therefore have appointed them to bake after the rate of xxxijs. the quarter of wheat, until another assize shall be given them.

This day we had brought before us the apprentice of William Blome of Norwich who was run away from his master; for which fault he was adjudged to be whipped; but upon his submission and promise of amendment, he was pardoned. Also order was taken for the sending of him to his master by the next boat that went to Norwich.

Quarto et quinto die Octobris, Anno predicto. In these two days nothing was done worthy of remembrance.

Sexto die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day in the morning we were requested by one of the serjeants of Yarmouth to eat a leg of a swan with his master, Bailiff Crowe, tomorrow at dinner. By whom we returned our hearty thanks to his master for his courtesy, with promise then to be with him.

This day being Sunday we went to church *more solito*, and after divine service ended we caused the proclamation¹ for the Free Fair to be made by our officers (who were ready at the church door on horseback, with such implements as thereto belonged) at all the accustomed places, being accompanied upon the green before the church-door with the Bailiffs of Yarmouth and the most part of the Burgesses in their scarlet gowns, and with a great multitude of other people standing by, who with silence gave ear unto it.

Septimo die Octobris, Anno predicto. Magna Jernemoutha. Curia secunda Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

Ad hanc curiam Juratores predicti pro Domina Regina venerunt et presentaverunt ut sequitur.

¹ The proclamation" of the Free Fair was to be made by the Bailiffs and Officers of the Cinque Ports, the Yarmouth Bailiffs being present if they wished. *Swinden*, p. 226. The Yarmouth people sometimes, as in 1600, tried to drown the proclamation outside the church by vigorously ringing the bells while it was being read.

We present James Bearde of this town of Yearmouth for making a fray upon John Egges, victualer, in the house of Robert Wakeman, the sixth day of this instant month.

Et presentaverunt cetera omnia bene.

Juratores predicti habent diem ulterius ad veredictum suum reddendum usque diem Lune extunc proxime sequentem ad horam octavam ejusdem diei. Quousque curia ista adjornatur.

At this court came six or seven of the chiefest inhabitants of the town of Laystoffe, and unto us made request that from henceforth the fishermen of all places to this town of Yearmouth resorting, may freely make sale and delivery of their herrings in the Road of Kirkelye,¹ when they shall think good so to do, without our trouble or molestation. Because the said Road is excepted and returned free for that purpose both by the grant made by King Richard the Second unto the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of this town of Yearmouth, and by statutes of this Realm, as also by a concord or award made between Yearmouth and Laystoffe by the letters patent of King Henry the Fourth in the second year of his reign, to be free from all men to sell their herrings, and for the men of Laistoffe or any other to buy them there. And because this their request seemed unto us to make for the good commodity of our fishermen, we requested of the Bailiffs of Yearmouth and Mr. Damett, one of the Burgesses then there present, to know how the allegations of these men might be answered. Whereunto they said that that Road called Kirkelye Roade lyeth as they think without the seven miles reserved unto this town of Yearmouth, but to show directly where, no man knoweth. Against which the men of Laystoffe showed them and us two inquisitions concerning the place where the said Road should be, whereof one was taken in Suffolke and the other in Norfolke, 5^o Ricardi 2ⁱ, and both of them proving that the said Road lyeth in the main-sea over against the town

¹ See above, p. 73.

of Laystoffe, and consequently within vij miles of Yarmouth. They of Yarmouth, for answer to these inquisitions, said that Laistoffe men had stolen them forth, Yarmouth men not privy of them, and that the jurors were gentlemen of Suffolk that did it of partiality and favour to themselves, because they would be provided of herrings and of other merchandise at Laistoffe which was nearer to them than Yarmouth. But Laistoffe men replied, that after they had obtained the first inquisition by a Suffolk jury, they of Yarmouth proved the latter to be taken in Norfolk by Norfolk gentlemen, as by the inquisition it appeareth. And further said that the inquisition taken in Norfolk is large as good for them as that taken in Suffolk. They of Yarmouth inferred the partiality and unlawfulness of the said inquisition because it sayeth that Kirkely Roade lyeth in the main-sea over against the town of Laistoffe in the county of Suffolk, as though the main-sea were parcel of any county, and therefore said they found they cared not what. Whereunto Laistoffe men answered, that by those words Laistoffe might be rather meant to lie in Suffolk than Kyrkely Roade lying in the main-sea. But admit it were so, they said they can prove by ancient men yet alive that there was a huge bank of sand which did lie between the main sea and the place which is called Kirkely Roade, so that ships might be safe in that road in all winds. The men of Yarmouth would not credit that; and for answer to the concord or award aforesaid, 2^o Henrici 4th, Mr. Damett aforesaid produced a very fair book of parchment, wherein were written (and that by himself, as was reported, who was in time past town clerk there) decrees and sundry patents of princes concerning the privileges and jurisdictions of the town of Yarmouth, amongst which was one patent made 3^o Henrici 4th which went somewhat hard against the men of Laystoffe and restrained them very much. Yea it made mention of very many Laistoffe men by name that were bound in an hundred

marks apiece to observe and keep the tenor of that patent. To this because they of Laystoffe had never heard of it before they knew not readily what answer to make, only prayed for the better satisfying of them it might be showed under seal. And further said that if there were any such bonds made yet they could not stand in force against them. Whereupon it was then promised unto us that we should see the same patent under seal, and would also set us down other reasons drawn from sundry Statutes of the Realm for further answering of the allegations of the men of Laistoffe. And so we ceased to talk any more of this matter at this time.

At this court we the Bailiffs of the Ports demanded of the Bailiffs of Yearmouth, that whereas one John Hutchinson was committed to prison upon suspicion of felony, trial might be made of him according to law and the privilege of the Cinq Ports before us, because both the fact and imprisonment hath happened in the time of the Free Fair. Whereunto answer was made by them, that if we would rear a Sessions, and make trial of him by our own authority, we might, but they would not sit with us, or be assisting therein. "For," said they, "ye have no right to determine of felons, but only to inquire of them and to take their examinations, and do matters of such like weight; neither have any of your predecessors at anytime used otherwise to do. Look what you have used to do, we will not deny to give you our assistance thereunto, and further we will do nothing." Then we answered, that "we have by plain words administration of Royal Justice confessed, acknowledged, and allowed unto us by the last composition between the Cinq Ports and Yearmouth." "True," said Bailiff Crowe, "so far as you have used." "To prove our usage," said we, "would be hard for us upon the sudden to do, our older Records being in our Brotherhood House. But it appeareth most evidently, both by the Edict and by the last

composition aforesaid, that the Bailiffs of the Ports ought to have administration of Royal Justice, and that by your own consents must have and continue as we have accustomed. By the Edict it is granted unto us in general words without any manner of limitation. If it had been the pleasure of the king that we should have administered justice but in part, we should have been limited and prescribed how far our authority should have extended therein. It may necessarily therefore be intended, that forso much princes in times past have given the Barons of the Ports such and so large prerogatives, without limitation and by express words for felons, that they have heretofore both had occasion to use and used this prerogative in the trying of felons, being a special point of Royal Justice. All which they of Yarmouth answered as before; and further said they thought that the said prisoner was not committed for felony, neither was any man bound to prosecute any such matter against him. And therewithal requested us that because the day was far spent, and they had some causes to dispatch of their Borough Court, they might further talk hereof at some other time. So we departed to our lodging, where we had not remained long but were sent for to dinner to Bailiff Crowe's, whither the day before we were requested.

Octavo die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we and the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, with four or five of the Burgesses of the same town, and Mr. Graye their Town Clerk with others, in the morning went to the haven's¹ mouth, some by water and some by land, to see the same. And at our return from thence we had the same Bailiffs, Burgesses, and the rest of the company, and all their wives, to dinner; whom we entertained to their very good liking.

¹ The 7th Haven, still in use, by which the outlet of the river Yare was finally fixed at Gorleston. At this time it had been many years in construction at immense cost, and was scarcely yet finished. (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, vol. xi. p. 270, &c.).

Nono die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day we and the Bailiffs of Yarmouth met together at the Tollhouse, where before us was brought Arnold Roome (of whom mention is made before in this Record) and a maidservant, in whose company he was taken, and who the day before were committed unto prison for that fact, and now adjudged by us to be whipped. Yet because they seemed to us very penitent for their said offence, and because the said Arnold promised that he would come no more in her company until he married with her,¹ as also that the said Arnold was near of alliance to very honest, wise, and worshipful inhabitants of Yarmouth, who beforehand had entreated favour in his behalf, and further that upon his examination it appeared unto us all that before God they were man and wife, and contracted together long before this fact was committed, and that before this time they had been married together had he not been prevented and hindered by his own kinsfolk, who thought the same maid a very unfit and unmeet match for him, we remitted their punishment, and discharged and released them out of prison.

Then also were brought before us Thomas Wauler of Brighthempsted, fisherman, and a trull with whom he was taken the night before by the search and committed to prison. Who for their said offence were now adjudged the next day at full sea to be ducked in the channel, viz., every of them three times, and then one of them to be set on the bridge, and the other set at the north gate. And that if they should be taken one in the other's company any more they both should be whipped about the town and parted asunder as aforesaid.

<i>Decimo</i>	} <i>die Octobris, Anno predicto.</i> Nothing was
<i>Undecimo</i>	
<i>Duodecimo</i>	
	done worthy remembrance.

¹ On the 20th Nov., 1594, Arnold de Roome was married to Katheryn Palmer at St. Nicholas' Church, Yarmouth.

Decimo tertio die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day being Sunday, in the morning we went to church, and after divine service and sermon ended, we made our second proclamation for the Free Fair after our accustomed manner, with our officers on horseback, as hath been used and accustomed.

Decimo quarto die Octobris, Anno predicto, Magna Jernemoutha, Curia tertia Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

[Form adjourning the jury, as before].

At this court because Thomas Wauler aforesaid of Brighthemsted and the trull or queane with whom he was taken, were not punished (for some consideration) as before they were adjudged, they both were well whipped at the bar, and so discharged and set at liberty.

Decimo quinto et decimo Sexto die Octobris, Anno predicto. In these two days nothing was done worth recording.

Decimo septimo die Octobris. Magna Jernemoutha. Curia quarta Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

[Form adjourning the jury, as before].

At this court John Hutchinson, servant to Robert Balsum of Norwich, being committed to prison upon suspicion of felony, was released for that there did not come any man to challenge him with the fact, nor he upon his examination did confess anything that could charge him.

And also Thomas Cock, committed for his misbehaviour, was upon his submission and entreaty discharged and set at liberty.

John Stringer, of whom mention is made before in this record for an abuse by him committed, was whipped at the bar and adjudged to be sent by constable to constable to his master, according to the Statute in that case late made and provided.

The Jury at this court would have presented certain of our

fishermen of the Ports for refusing to pay their fier,¹ viz., ij^d of every boat. Which because we deemed to be prejudicial to all the fishermen of the Ports, and contrary to their usage as they informed us, and against the privileges of the Ports, we would not permit it to be done.

Launcelot Mathewe, for filching, was whipped and set at liberty.

Decimo octavo die Octobris. Nihil actum fuit.

Decimo nono die Octobris, Anno predicto. Magna Jerne-moutha. Curia quinta Domine Regine [etc., form as before].

Actio nulla.

[Form as before adjourning the jury until a new summons].

Vicessimo die Octobris, Anno predicto. This day being Sunday, after morning prayer ended, we caused our proclamation for the Free Fair at the places accustomed to be proclaimed by our officers on horseback, as has been used and accustomed.

Vicessimo primo die Octobris Anno predicto. This day, in the morning, at our coming away,² we received of the Chamberlain of Yearmouth, iij^l x^s due unto us by the last composition between Yearmouth and the Ports.

This day also came out of Yearmouth with us Mr. Bailiff Staunton, Bailiffe Crowe, Mr. Andrewes their preacher, Mr. Thrower, Mr. Damett, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Pronnett, Burgesses, Mr. Graye their Town Clerk, Mr. Eger, Mr. John Ladd, and others, to the number of xvij or xvij^{teen} horse of them, who brought us on our way homeward to the town of Laystoffe, where the Bailiffs aforesaid bestowed a very good

¹ A toll of 2d. on every boat for the maintenance of lights or beacon fires "for security of the arrival of ships by night." Authorised under the name of "fire-pence" by King Edward's edict.

² By the Dite the Ports' Bailiffs, in lieu of a customary toll of 4d. on every ship, were to receive from the men of Yarmouth a fixed sum of £6. Article viii of the Award of 1576 had reduced that amount to £3. 10s. (Swinden, p. 227).

dinner on us and our company. Which being ended, they with their company took their leave of us in very friendly and courteous sort.¹

The names of every town in the roadway between Gravesende and Greate Jernemouth, with the distance of miles between every of them, are as followeth :—

		Miles			
From	Gravesend to Horneton-on-the-Hill	-	4	3	28
	Horneton-on-the-Hill to Billarickye	-	6		
	Billarikye [Billericay] to Stock	-	4		
	Stock to Chenesford [Chelmsford]	-	4		
	Chenesford to Witham	-	-	7	
	Witham unto Easterforde	-	-	3	
	Easterforde to Colchester	-	-	8	2 32
	Colchester to Cattawaye-Bridge	-	-	6	
	Cattawaye to Ipswich	-	-	6	
	Ipswich to Woodbridg	-	-	5	
	Woodbridge to Snapebridg	-	-	7	
	Snapebridge to Eastbridg	-	-	4	2 24
	Eastbridge to Bliborough [Blythburgh]			4	
	Bliborough to Laystoffs [Lowestoft]	-	10		
	Laystoffs to Jernemouth [Yarmouth]	-	6		

[FINIS.]

¹ The duration of the Free Fair was 40 days. But for a long time previous to this visit the Ports had directed their Bailiffs to limit their visit to Yarmouth to 21 days. It seems strange that they should have travelled all the way by road.

On some Ancient Stone Fragments found in Cringleford Church.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. T. S. COGSWELL.

DURING the progress of some extensive alterations, which were made in Cringleford church in the year 1898, several indications of the early history of the building were revealed.

Through the demolition of the south wall and the unflaking of the north wall, it became evident that the original church¹ consisted of chancel, nave, and north and south aisles. The nave was short, and corresponded to the size of the present chancel. The aisles were narrow, and separated from the nave by two arches, and above these (both on the north and south sides) was one window doubly splayed, and retaining portions of wooden framework (evidently Saxon).

The present unflaked north wall shows all these special features, and the same were revealed during the removal of the south wall.²

¹ The church, before restoration (1898), consisted of nave and chancel only.

² The arcading of the present aisle occupies the place of the south wall. Stone jambs of a doorway were found at the western end of the south wall, on the ground line, 3 ft. 9 ins. apart. The present porch is on the north side.

It is practically certain that in the fifteenth century the aisles were pulled down and the materials used to lengthen the nave and to build a tower. At the same time the rood staircase was erected, for its seven remaining steps found in the *south* wall [Plate I. *a*] consisted of a collection of fragments of an ancient church—mullions of windows, pieces of stone of all sizes, bricks of various dates, and pieces of carved stone-work.

The chief historical interest of this staircase is centered upon the first step, which upon removal, proved to be a fragment of a pre-Norman sculptured stone.

The rood builders seem to have reduced this fragment to the size they required, placed the engraved side uppermost, and moulded the broken edge which projected into the church. Later, at the destruction of the rood, half of the moulded edge was hacked off, and the whole of the lower staircase so bricked up and plastered over that it remained concealed and protected till this year (1898).

Of the early relic of which this was a fragment, six portions have been found—two pieces in the rood steps, the remainder in that part of the south wall which was built in the fifteenth century.

The stones are hard sandstone. They are ornamented with the design of a cross, below the transverse arms of which are panels of plaiting-work, treated emblematically, *i.e.*, showing neither beginning nor end.

The largest piece is 37 ins. long, $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide at the top, 8 ins. wide at the bottom, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick.

The other five stones vary from 14 ins. to 7 ins. in width, and from 11 ins. to 7 ins. in length, and some of these are over 6 ins. in thickness.

It should be noted that the top edge of the largest stone is slightly moulded, and the moulding is continued for about 5 inches at the back, which leads to the supposition that both sides were originally visible.



b.



c.

E. J. C.





IN CRINGLEFORD CHURCH.
PLATE II.

The chief piece of stone has now been placed with two others in the west wall (south side) after a design kindly furnished by G. E. Fox, Esq., F.S.A. [Plate II., *a, b, c*]. The reconstruction upon this design gives an upright cross, 4 ft. 10 ins. long, 2 ft. wide at the top, 18 ins. wide at the bottom.

Of the three remaining pieces [Plate I., *b, c*]*—*one shows a portion of the shaft of a cross with plaiting work on either side; the other two appear to belong to the base. These are preserved in the west wall (north side).

As to the original use or date of these stones, we can but form a conjecture. The only distinguishing feature of the ornamentation (the interwoven bands of plaiting-work on the panels) is not sufficiently definite a characteristic to form the groundwork of a decided judgment. Panels ornamented in this style are very common in Celtic work. In a *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, by J. Romilly Allen, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the frontispiece shows two panels thus filled with plait-work ornament, forming part of the shaft of a cross at Llantwit Major in Wales. Other examples of similar Celtic ornamentation may be seen in the same work. In the illustrated edition of *Green's History of the English People*, by Mrs. Green, vol. i., p. 74, is another well-marked example of plait-work in panels. The panels in this case form portions of the border of an illustration of David as a warrior, from an illuminated MS. at Durham, traditionally ascribed to Bede.

Scandinavian Art also abounds in these serpentine interlacing bands. They are, however, characterized by less regularity, being generally mixed up with quaint devices. The author of the South Kensington Manual on Scandinavian Industrial Arts, Hans Hildebrand, considers them to have been originally prolongations of parts

of the bodies of conventional animals, which in passing through the hands of several generations of Scandinavian artists have entirely lost their shape and meaning.

The balance of evidence, so far, would seem to incline in favour of assigning a Celtic or British origin to our fragments. But it must be remembered that a simple ornamentation of this kind might be borrowed from various sources. Considering the predominance of the Danish element in East Anglia for more than two hundred years before the Norman Conquest, a Celtic Christian work of art seems hardly likely to have found a place there.

History does not help us with any further light. At the time of the Confessor—as recorded in the *Domesday Survey*—the whole town belonged to Alured the priest. Do these stones mark his gift to the church, or are they portions of his tomb?

“Cringleford Cross” is mentioned by Blomefield under the date of 1291. Are these stones portions of that cross? There are no traces remaining of the base of a churchyard cross.



Nave of Norwich Cathedral, looking East.

W. B.

To face p. 105.

Recent Discoveries in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.

COMMUNICATED BY

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., AND W. T. BENSLEY, LL.D., F.S.A.¹

It is well known to our Society that the Dean of Norwich, with his characteristic energy, has for some time past been collecting subscriptions and carrying on the important work (begun by the late Dean Goulburn) of repairing and beautifying this Cathedral Church. In this good work Dean Lefroy has been materially assisted by Mr. [now Sir] Samuel Hoare, M.P. for this city, and his wife, who, on the 7th April last year, being the thirty-second anniversary of their wedding day, generously proposed to make an Easter offering to the Church, that offering to be the unflaking and cleaning of the nave at their own cost. The work was commenced in the latter part of September, 1898, and is now completed, at a cost of £600 or thereabouts. A staff of skilled masons and workmen has been employed, under the superintendence of Mr. Charles John Brown, architect, Mr. Leonard Wragg being the master mason; and great care has been taken to avoid injury to the tooling of the stonework. You now see the nave restored to its pristine beauty, having

¹ This Paper was read by Dr. Bensley, on the visit of the Society to the Cathedral Church on the 5th May, 1899.

been divested of the numerous coats of whitewash which have been applied to the stonework from time to time since its building in the twelfth century.¹ The Norman builders were themselves the first to whitewash the stonework.

In the course of the unflaking many interesting archaeological features have been brought to light and carefully preserved. In describing them I have the permission of Mr. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, to make use of two papers prepared by him and read at meetings of that society in the early part of this year, the same being the result of our joint researches in the matter. Foremost amongst these interesting features that have hitherto been covered up are the traces of the fires which devastated the church, first in 1171, and again at the hands of the citizens in 1272. The church was also burnt a third time by lightning in 1463, but how far this extended to the nave is uncertain. In the aisles, which from the first were vaulted, the walls show no signs of fire, but in the nave, which was not vaulted until after the middle of the fifteenth century, the traces are evident as well as interesting. The burning of such combustible fittings as were in the nave in the twelfth, or even in the thirteenth century, would alone do comparatively little hurt. But the falling in of a blazing roof and ceiling would cause extensive damage. Not only would the floor be covered with glowing and blazing matter, but some of this would naturally roll between and more or less encircle the bases of the piers. These have in consequence been scorched and shivered, while the upper parts are little injured. The under sides of the capitals, and here and there the edges of the arch mouldings are, however, considerably reddened in places, evidently

¹ See note, p. 110.

through being licked by the uprushing flames. The marks of the fires also tell another story. According to the history of the foundation of the church, contained in its *Registrum Primum*, and written about the year 1306, Bishop Herbert the founder (1091-1119), "*perfectit ecclesiam Norwyci suo tempore usque ad altare sancte Crucis, quod modo vocatur altare sancti Willelmi.*" Of his successor, Eborard (1121-46), it is stated, "*Opus ecclesiæ Norwyci ubi Herbertus Episcopus predecessor suus dimiserat incepit et, ut ab antiquis dictum est, memoratam ecclesiam integraliter consummavit.*" The extent westwards of Herbert's work is approximately marked, so far as the ground story is concerned, by the fifth pillars, which are of a different plan from any others visible when the unflaking commenced. These pillars also stand about a bay beyond the extreme limit of the monks' part of the church, which alone was completed by Herbert, and included not only the eastern arm and transepts, but four to five bays of the nave as well. The monks' quire probably occupied then, as now, the two first bays as well as the space under the crossing. The nave is, in all, fourteen bays long, but actually consists of seven double severies, the piers of which are alternately principal and subordinate. The principal piers throughout are square in plan, with re-entering angles and nook shafts, and have attached to the front a double group of shafts running up from the floor to carry the ceiling. On the aisle side there are double shafts to carry the transverse arches of the vault. The subordinate piers, with the exception of the fifth piers, which are massive cylinders ornamented with spiral fluting, are a compromise between the square principal piers and the circular ones, with a single ceiling shaft in front and a double shaft on the aisle side. Why one pair of piers should be cylindrical

and the rest so different has long been a puzzle, but all is now made clear. In removing the whitewash from the third north pier there came to light on the east face a large patch of plaster. This was in turn removed, to reveal the interesting fact that within what now turns out to be casing are the remains of another cylindrical column, badly scorched from fire, but exhibiting a bold spiral grooving similar to that on the fifth piers. There is, however, this difference, that whereas in the fifth piers the joints are cut obliquely to range with the grooves, in the third pier on the north side the stones are squared in the usual fashion; the fluting also seems to have been an afterthought, whereas in the fifth piers it was designed from the beginning, as shown by the jointing. The casing of the pier has converted it into the same plan as Bishop Eborard's subordinate piers; but closer examination shows that the old capital, of similar design to that of the fifth pier, remains unaltered. The corresponding south pier is also cased in the same way, but no attempt has been made to ascertain the condition of the older pier within. Since the fifth and third pairs of piers can now be shown to have been cylindrical, the first pair ought to yield evidence of similar construction. These piers, however, are entirely of Eborard's pattern, and if they ever were cylindrical they have been entirely re-built or transformed to make them uniform with the rest, perhaps because they were more injured in the fire. The next pair of piers has also been largely recased. The traces of the fires have thus been entirely obliterated. The greater destruction wrought in these bays may have been caused by the additional fuel furnished by the stalls which stood between them and by the wooden floor and fittings of the *pulpitum* or loft at the west end of the quire. The subsequent repairs have been executed to a large extent



North Aisle of Norwich Cathedral, looking West.

To face p. 108.

in the same Barnack stone of which the piers are composed, and are probably the work of Bishop William (1146-1173) after the fire of 1171. This prelate was so anxious to make good the damage that he is reported to have sometimes sat in a chair at the church door to beg money for the work, and within two years he had repaired it as it was before.

The damage done when the citizens burnt the church and monastery in 1272 must have been largely due to the falling in of the blazing roofs and ceilings, and for reasons already stated such damage was confined to the central parts of the church that had before been injured. It is, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the ravages of the two fires. The repairs were sufficiently advanced by 1278 to enable the church to be dedicated by Bishop Middleton on the day of his enthronement in the presence of the King and Queen and many of the nobility. Besides the high altar, there were also hallowed the altar of the Saviour and All Saints "where St. William lies buried," an altar at the quire door in honour of the Blessed Virgin, St. John Baptist, St. Giles, and the Holy Virgins, and the altar at the door of the sacrist's chamber in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul and All Saints. All these were more or less connected with the central parts of the building.

In 1362 the church was again seriously injured, this time by the fall of the spire during a great gale. Not only was it necessary in consequence to rebuild the whole of the upper part of the presbytery, but the work was so prolonged that in 1453 repairs "*post magnum ventum*" were still in progress, and as late as 1460 work was going on in other parts of the church. We are consequently left in great uncertainty as to the extent of the damage done by the third fire in 1463, and this is increased by the fact that the westernmost stalls in the

quire, which can be shown from the heraldry and the carving to be at least as old as the reign of Henry IV., are apparently still in their original positions. It is, nevertheless, clear from the account rolls that extensive repairs necessitated by the fire were executed both in the eastern and western parts of the church. The principal work done about this period was the replacement of the wooden ceiling of the nave by the magnificent lierne vault of stone, which is still one of the glories of the church. To carry it the Norman ceiling shafts were made to serve as vaulting shafts, and furnished with new stone bases of the then prevailing fashion. The contrast between the white stone of which these bases are made and the reddened masonry in which they are inserted, as revealed by the recent unflaking of the stonework, is very marked, and we can hardly suppose that the fifteenth century builders suffered them to remain uncovered by a judicious coat of whitewash.¹ The arms and rebus of Bishop Walter Lyhert (1446-1472), which are placed alternately at the junctions of the new vault with the old shafts, show that the work belongs to his time. It has generally been supposed that this vault formed part of the repairs necessitated by the fire of

¹ "Since the above was written, I have come across the following entries in the sacrist's account rolls:

1472. Solut. Johanni Everard seniori pro reparacione et *dealbacione* ale ex parte boriali navis ecclesie in grosso xxjs. viij*d*. In calce ad idem opus vs. v*d*. Item solut. Johanni Abbot et Nicholao socio suo pro reparacione et *dealbacione* de le northele versus palacium in grosso xxs. In calce et sabulo ad idem opus iiij*s*. ij*d*. In *dealbacione* presbiterij cum alis xiiij*s*. v*d*.

Other entries in earlier years also relate to extensive limewashing:

1441. Johanni Everard pro *dealbacione* in ecclesia iiij*li*. In calce combusta pro eadem xs. x*d*.

1442. Johanni Everard latamo pro *dealbacione* medietatis ecclesie lxxv*s*. viij*d*.

W. H. St. J. H."

1463, but this is not borne out by the account rolls, which exist for 1465, 1466, 1469, 1470, and 1472, when Lyhert died, and it must have taken longer to build than the intervals for which rolls are missing. It is, therefore, possible that it was built before the fire, in continuation of the repairs due to the fall of the spire in 1362, but this again is not borne out by such account rolls as have been preserved. Not improbably the whole of the cost was borne by the Bishop himself, and so the expenditure would not necessarily appear on the rolls at all. In that case the vault may be later than the fire, and have been built as a fireproof ceiling in place of the oft-burnt wooden one. Besides the nave vault, Bishop Lyhert also rebuilt the *pulpitum* at the west end of the quire, and Professor Willis has ascribed to him the paring down of such of the Norman bases of the piers as had been injured in the fire, in order to make them more sightly, but the result cannot be called successful.

The next point of interest which the removal of the limewash has brought to light is the existence, mostly in the eastern part of the south aisle, of an extensive series of pinholes and cuts in the walls and pillars. The reason for these is for the most part a mere matter of speculation, but in some cases the holes seem to have held fastenings for the cords of lights suspended from the centre of the groining, where the rings still remain in places. From the cuts in the walls it is clear that the aisle was crossed by a number of screens. There was one, for instance, on the line of the third pier, a second on the line of the fourth pier, and another on the line of the fifth pier. The two first seem to have enclosed a chapel of some importance, if we may judge by the remains of elaborate paintings on the vault. Of these paintings only a few fragments are left, but these

are enough to show that they were of great merit and interest. The compartments of the groining were covered with a series of pictures of the story of some saint. For the most part these have all perished, but there remain in one angle two complete figures of bare-headed men in long garments, one of whom has his hands uplifted to a figure of a king sitting on a throne, which occupies the next compartment. The transverse arch of the aisle, west of this vault, has also been painted with a series of large roundels, probably seven in number. Of these three remain tolerably perfect on the northern half. The lowest contains simply the figure of a hall or church with clerestory and central spire. In the next roundel is a mitred figure in blue under robe and red cope, seated and clasping his hands, and with a tall crosier between his right arm and his body. On his right are two persons, and on the left side of his head are the remains of an inscription. Mr. Hope made out the letters INTIMA PA but was doubtful about the first and two last. The third roundel contains two men seated at each end of a red table. He on the right of the picture is a clerk in a surplice or albe. The other is untunsured, and wears an emerald green robe. Both figures have in their hands and upon the table a number of oval white objects like eggs, but from the way in which they are being handled they must be meant for something else. It is difficult at present to offer any interpretation of these paintings, since they form so small a portion of the entire series. From the leafwork between the roundels they seem to belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century. Of other paintings very few traces have come to light. It was hoped that remains of Norman decoration would have been disclosed throughout the nave, but none is visible save some Norman scrollwork above the door of the cloister.

The present cleaning has also brought to light a considerable amount of colouring and gilding on the groining and upper parts of the monument of Bishop Richard Nykke or Nyx (1501-1535-6), principally on the shields of arms that decorate it. This monument stands beneath the seventh arch on the south side, and both this and the eighth arch have been cased and groined with elaborate panelling. The corresponding bays of the aisle have also received richly panelled vaults.

In the north aisle there are no such traces of transverse screens as on the other side; and as the south aisle was blocked by chapels the north aisle was probably kept open for processions, and to allow pilgrims to visit the shrine of St. William and other objects of veneration in the eastern parts of the church.

About the year 1740 the greater part of the church was repaved, and whatever slabs remained to indicate the sepulchres of bishops and other eminent persons known to have been buried in it were ruthlessly destroyed or converted to other purposes, or removed to other parts of the church.

From the foundation of the church down to 1550, twenty-four bishops are recorded to have been buried in it, or have left directions to that effect. Of these nine lie in the presbytery, five in the destroyed Lady Chapel at the east end, two in the quire, four in the nave, and of four the burial places are not recorded. A memorial for the founder, Bishop Herbert, but of later date, exists in the middle of the presbytery, and hard by are the tombs of Bishops John Wakering (1416-1425) and James Goldwell (1472-1498-9); there are also the remains of Richard Nikke's monument on the south side of the nave. But for the other twenty bishops there are not any memorials, and the burying-places of most of them

can only be fixed approximately by the statements of historians or the directions in wills.

The nave having been closed during the unflaking of the walls, and excavations near the screen being needed to provide foundations for iron columns to support the new organ, the opportunity occurred of ascertaining, if possible, whether the bones of St. William had been buried near the altar dedicated in his honour, or if any traces could be found of the graves of Bishops Thomas Brown (1436-1445) and Walter Lyhert (1446-1472), both of whom desired to be buried in this part of the church. As will be seen presently the search for these graves is closely connected with the solution of certain questions as to the ancient topography of the eastern part of the nave.

The investigation was begun on 16th January, 1899, and continued on the following day in the presence of the Dean and Canon Hervey as representing the Chapter: the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, F.S.A., Honorary Canon; Dr. Bensly, F.S.A., Chapter Clerk; Mr. C. J. Brown, the Cathedral Surveyor; Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke (Hon. Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society), and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who was invited by the Dean to assist in the investigation. The proceedings were confined to the bay immediately in front of the screen separating the nave from the quire, erected by Bishop Lyhert after the fire of 1463. The main features of this screen are a central doorway flanked by the reredoses of two altars, surmounted by a groined coving and parapet set up about 1833. The lower part of the screen towards the nave was unfortunately "restored" at the same time by being made new, and the only work of Bishop Lyhert now remaining is the doorway and the pillar piscina of the northern altar. The altar has for a long time been assumed to be that of St. William, the little boy murdered

by the Jews in 1143-4. Excavations were accordingly begun in front of its site, in the hope that the coffin that contained St. William's bones might have been deposited there on the general destruction of shrines *temp.* Henry VIII. The removal of the loose rubbish underlying the floor slabs showed, however, that no interment of the ordinary kind of any date had been made there, and the available space was restricted on one side by the great sleeper wall on which the arcade stands, and on the other by the grated channels for the warming apparatus which traverse the nave from end to end. Whether anything and what was found or destroyed when these channels were constructed some years ago cannot now be ascertained. A piece of wood was found in an inclined position, which may have formed part of a coffer in which the relics of the saint were deposited. The sleeper wall is composed of hard flint rubble, and projects $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in front of the piers. The trench was carried down 2 ft. to a bed of flint rubble which underlies this part of the church, and then filled in again.

The next excavation was made in front of the screen doorway, in the space 13 ft. wide between the hot water pipe channels. Here were disclosed (1) the rounded head of a brick grave or vault underlying the entry of the doorway, and (2) the edges of another brick grave about 2 ft. 6 ins. to the west of the first, and 9 ins. below the floor level. This second grave had lost its covering, and as it was apparently filled up with loose rubbish, this was carefully taken out. At a depth of 11 ins. from the top there appeared a narrow ledge along the sides and ends of the grave to support a series of slabs, but these had been taken away. The further removal of the rubbish was, therefore, proceeded with, and revealed an undisturbed skeleton lying on the

bottom of the grave, which was 2 ft. 4½ ins. below the ledge. The body had evidently been buried without a coffin, and so far as could be seen (for the bones were interfered with as little as possible) there were no remains of grave clothes or any other covering, nor of a crosier, chalice, or paten. From the dry rubbish immediately overlying the body one relic was recovered, a handsome gilt bronze signet ring. The device engraved on it is a duck or some such bird plucking the sprig of a plant.

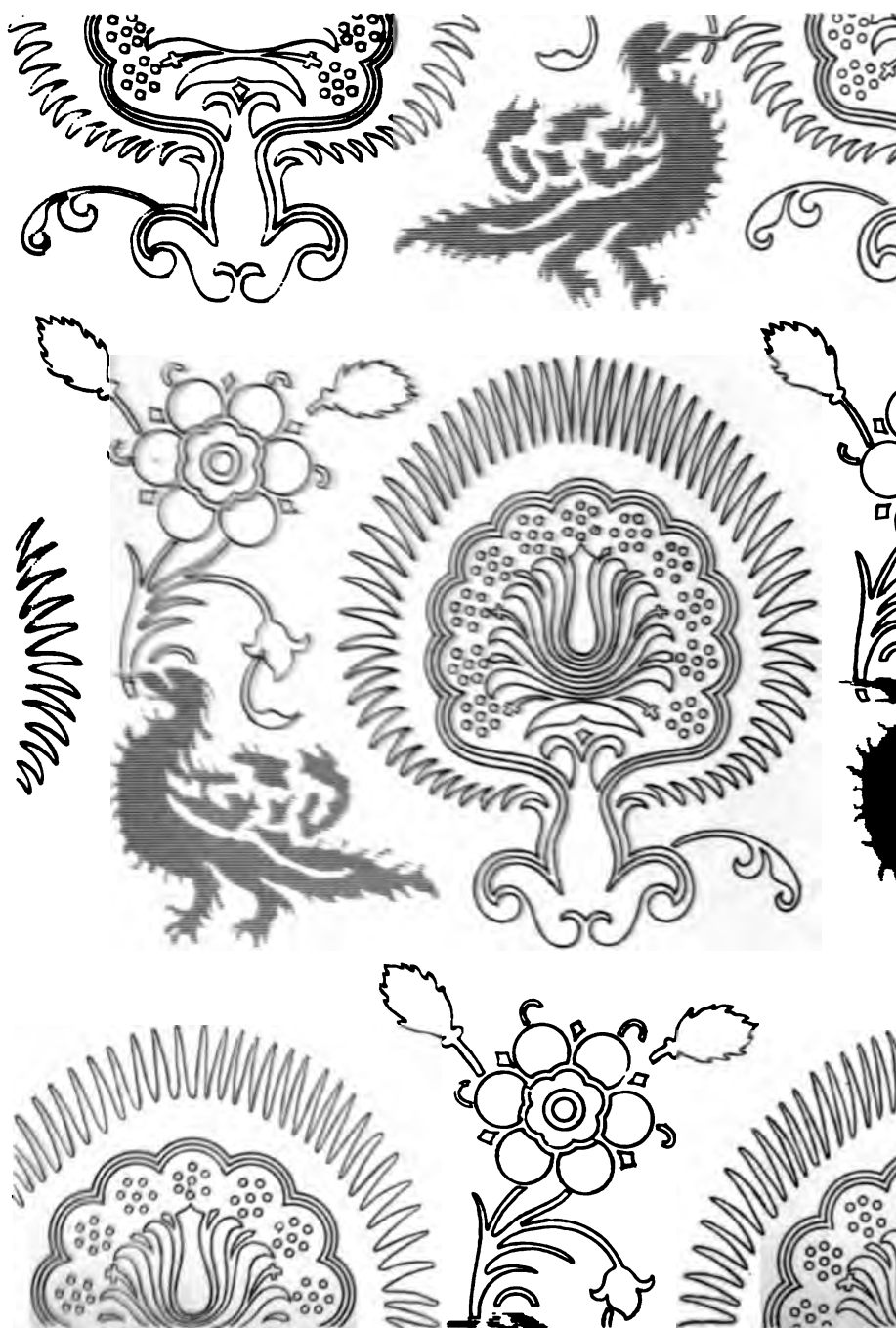
Mr. Read, of the British Museum, who has been kind enough to clean the ring, considers that the date of it cannot well be earlier than 1520. The dimensions of the grave in which it was found are as follow: length,



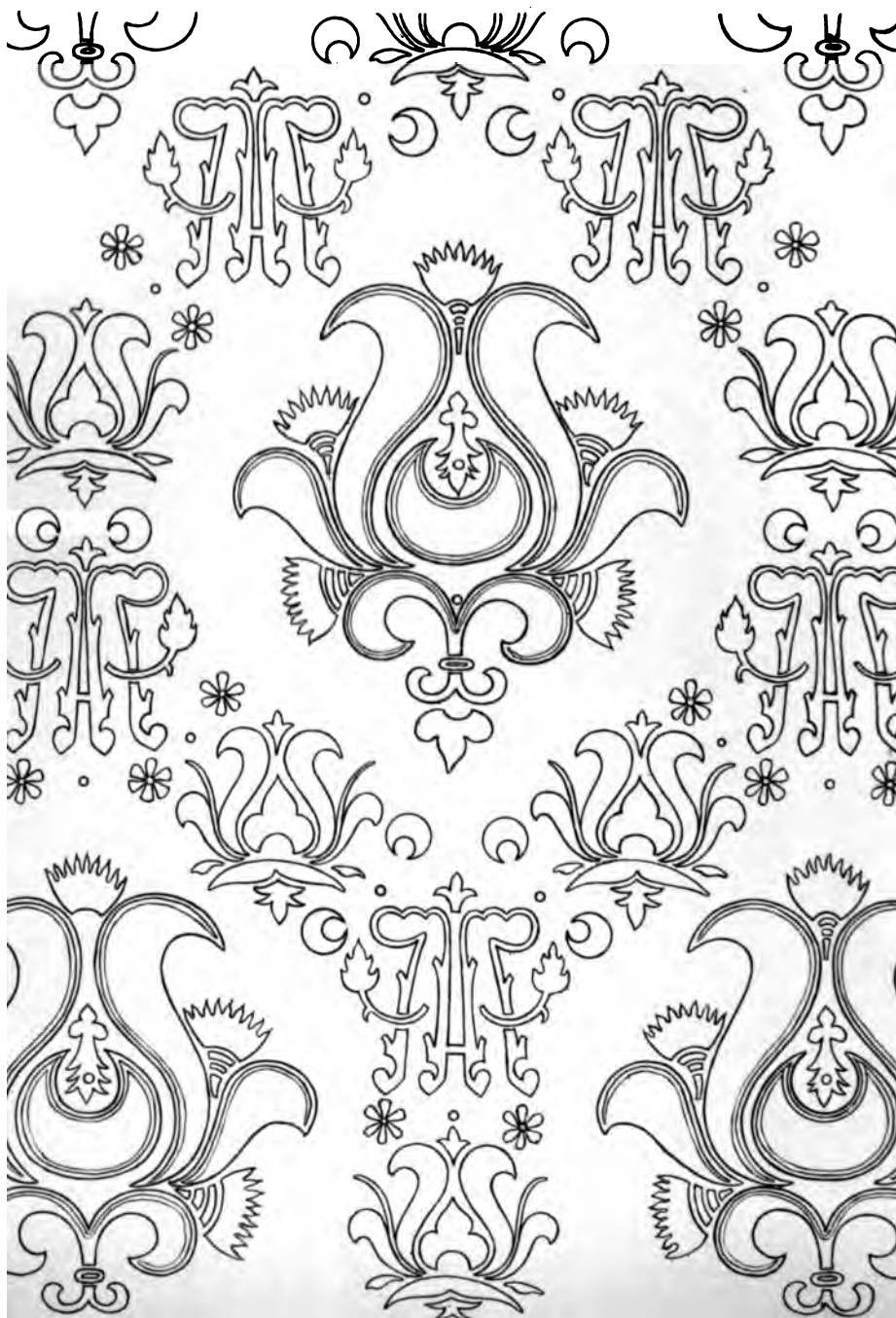
COPPER-GILT RING FOUND IN A GRAVE IN THE NAVE.

7 ft. 6 ins.; width at head, 3 ft. 5 ins.; width at foot, 2 ft. 10¾ ins.; length below ledge, 6 ft. 10 ins.; width below ledge, at head, 2 ft. 6 ins., at foot, 2 ft.; depth to ledge, 11 ins.; depth from ledge to bottom, 2 ft. 4½ ins. The width of the ledge varied from 6 ins. at the foot to 2 ins. at the head, and at the sides from 6½ ins. on the north to 4½ ins. on the south. The brickwork round the upper part, with its plaster lining, was 5 ins. thick.

It was next decided to examine the vault under the doorway, which the insertion of a spline through a chink in the brickwork had already shown to be at least three feet deep. Enough of the bricks were accordingly removed at the west end to render visible the interior. It was then seen to contain a wooden coffin, which had long ago split asunder, revealing the body of a bishop with his crosier laid upon him. The coffin was 6 ft. 5 in.



Pattern on Bishop Lyhart's Mass Vestments.



Pattern on Bishop Lyhert's Mass Vestments.



Carved head of Crosier in Bishop Lyhart's vault.

To face p. 117.

A. E. Coe,
Norwich.



Carved head of Grosier in Bishop Lyhart's vault.

A. E. Coe,
Norwich.

To face p. 117.

long, and tapered from 2 ft. in width at the head to 18 in. at the foot. It lay upon several pieces of decayed rope, probably the remains of the bands by which, since it had not any handles, the coffin had been lifted into the vault. The bishop's skull had on it the remains of a linen mitre, and the body was clothed in Mass vestments. The hands were crossed in front of the body, and apparently covered with linen or fine silk gloves. No ring could be found, nor any chalice or paten, but the remains were disturbed as little as possible. Over the feet were deposited a loose bundle or mass of fine twigs, some of which have been examined, and pronounced to be heather. The crosier, which is of light wood, was taken out for examination. The carved head had fallen off, and in part decayed away, but was originally about 10 ins. high, and had a crocketed crook enclosing a leaf and springing from a moulded capital fixed to the shaft by a peg. The shaft is 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and consists of two lengths, each 1 in. in diameter, with a central band or knot, and a pointed socket at the bottom for the iron spike, which is lost. The upper half was spirally wrapped round with a black cobwebby substance, which turned out on closer examination to be the remains of the linen sudary or napkin originally attached to the base of the crook. The head of the crosier, which is of oak, has been preserved as a relic, but by the Dean's wish the staff was replaced in the tomb.

It is interesting to note the close resemblance between this crosier and that found in 1852 in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, with the mummy of Bishop Lyndewode, now in the British Museum. Their lengths are identical, and, as will be seen from the drawings of Lyndewode's staff in *Archæologia* (vol. xxxiv. pl. 31), the designs are so similar that both staves must have come

from the same workshop. Lyndewode, who was Bishop of St. David's, died early in 1447.

The vault containing the coffin is 8 ft. 3 in. long, 3 ft. wide, and 3 ft. 6 in. high to the crown of its arched brick covering. The interior is plastered save at the east end, which is of bare brickwork. The coffin must, therefore, have been introduced into the vault through that end, which was afterwards walled up. A subsequent excavation on the eastern side of the screen beneath the organ loft disclosed what appears to be a continuation of the vault eastwards, into which the coffin could first be lowered, and then pushed or carried into the vault. This had, however, been partly destroyed and encroached upon by later burials, so we could not follow up the junction of the two.

The history of the screen erected by Lyhert is intimately connected with the identity of the bishop buried beneath its doorway. The screen is actually a double one, with a whole bay between, and the organ loft above: it thus formed the *pulpitum*. The eastern wall has been destroyed and replaced by modern work. The western wall structurally is Lyhert's, and is panelled on its inner face; the outer or western side has been already described. That the screen is Lyhert's work is proved, not only by his arms and well-known rebus, which are carved in the spandrels of the doorway, but by the evident reference to it in his will, which bears the date 13th May, 1472, ten days before his death. The will contains the following interesting clause: "*Sepulturam meam eligo in navi ecclesie mee Cathedralis prope et ante ostium meum novi operis mei vocati a Reredosse prout ibidem pro sepultura mea ordinatum est.*"¹ As we have already seen, Lyhert's "new work" forms "a Reredosse" to two altars, and a further clause in his will desires that "ad

¹ P.O.C. 7 Watty.

altare ex parte boreali sepulture mee" he may have a perpetual chaplain to say mass for the souls of himself and his parents, of John Lyhert his kinsman, and Richard Hedge, formerly his servant, and for the souls of all his predecessors, especially of Dan Thomas Browne, his immediate predecessor. Now it is clear from Lyhert's own statement that in building his "Reredosse" he had provided beneath it, *prope et ante ostium*, a place for his burial, and there cannot be any doubt that the vault we have discovered partly underlying the doorway is the place in question, and that the coffin therein contains his remains. Although no memorial was left to mark the spot, we know that such did exist, for Mackerell, writing in 1737, before the nave was repaved, says that Lyhert "lies under a very large stone directly under the rood loft, on which was a brass plate with the following lines," etc. Blomefield, whose history of Norfolk was first issued in 1739, says "his stone, which was a very large one, was removed this year, and laid at the eastern door of the south ile; it was robbed long ago of the effigies and inscriptions, part of which is preserved in Weever." The slab, until a few weeks ago, lay as described by Blomefield, just within the cloister door. It measures 10 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, by 4 ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in breadth, and although much worn, bears traces of the casement of the bishop's brass, which represented him under an elaborate canopy with side canopies and marginal inscription. By direction of the Dean and Chapter, the slab is now replaced over the bishop's grave.

There is at present no clue to the identity of the person buried in the grave west of Lyhert, but from its position he must have been someone of note. The ring found therein is not necessarily an episcopal one, and in any case its late date precludes the grave being that of Bishop Brown, who died in 1445. The position

of Bishop Brown's burying place, if it could be discovered, being of some importance in establishing certain points in the history of this eastern part of the nave, further investigations were made in the bay west of that already examined. The floor slabs were accordingly taken up on Shrove Tuesday last, and an excavation made in the central line of the bay. The removal of a very slight layer of rubbish brought to light the remains of a wooden coffin, and the margin of a brick grave in which it had been deposited. This had lost its original covering, and been filled up with rubbish. The coffin, though dry, was much decayed, and apparently of elm. It measured 5 ft. 10 ins. in length, and tapered from a width of 20 in. at the head, to 14 in. at the foot. Only the central portion of the lid remained intact, and on lifting this it was seen that the body had been covered with a thin layer of hay. The bones were partially examined by Mr. Charles Williams, F.R.C.S., Norwich, who has pronounced them to be those of a man between 55 and 60 years of age. The body had been buried in a single garment of some woven material, with the arms extended by the sides. Neither ring nor anything else was found to give a possible clue to the identity of the deceased, but as the grave had been previously disturbed and filled up with rubbish, any object of value might then have been removed. The grave is constructed of brickwork, 4½ ins. thick and plastered within, but has no inner ledge for covering slabs. It is 6 ft. 6 ins. long, and varies in width from 27½ ins. at the head to 26 ins. at the foot. The bottom was only 23 ins. below the present floor. As the soil to the north of the grave seemed loose, and moreover full of fragments of worked stone, the excavation was extended in that direction. Here another brick grave was found, but its contents had been displaced, and the bottom broken out for a later

interment below; the head of it was also encroached upon by another burial, which was not interfered with. From the rubbish overlying and filling this grave were extracted numerous pieces of Purbeck marble paving-slabs, some fragments of screen work, two pieces of a small image, originally about 18 ins. high, and a corbel or bracket for an image with the name *Srs Iohes de B[ri]dlington* painted along the front. This last discovery is of more than usual interest, since Mr. Hope has been fortunate in finding in the sacrist's roll for 1414 the following entries relating to the image which the bracket no doubt supported :

" In lapidibus emptis pro duobis imaginibus 4/6
Pro factura imaginum Gaciani et Johannis de
Bredelynton 26/8 et pro pictura 8/10."

Although a broken image was found too, Mr. Hope thinks that the absence of all traces of colour thereon precludes our claiming it as that of the good John of Bridlington. The marble fragments were pieces of squares varying in size from 12 inches and upwards, and had evidently formed part of the old pavement of the nave. Some of this has fortunately been suffered to remain between the piers of the arcades. An entry in the sacrist's roll for 1400 of 100/- paid "pro pavimento in ecclesia pro CCCC pedibus de marbre" may give us the date when part of this floor was laid down. From the graves thus described trenches were continued eastwards across the line between the fourth pair of pillars, in the hope of finding evidence of the screen that must have stood there. The digging soon brought it to light, in the form of a flint foundation 9 inches thick, going down about 2 feet, and extending apparently right across the church. The east face of it is 16 ft. 9½ in. from Lyhert's screen.

The earliest document subsequent to the fire of 1272 which throws any light upon the arrangement of the nave, apart from what still exists, seems to be the will of Bishop Thomas Brown, who held the See from 1436 to his death on 6th December, 1445. By this will, which is dated 28th October in the latter year, the Bishop directs that he be buried "in superiori parte navis ecclesie Cathedralis Norwicensis sponse mee prope medium altaris sancti Willelmi." He also directs that there be placed upon his grave "unus lapis marmoreus in circumferenciis de cupro insculptus cum armis domini Herberti fundatoris dicte ecclesie et armis meis conjunctis et scribantur in eodem lapide dies mensis et annus obitus mei. Et quod arma et litere insculpte deaurentur." He further directs, "Item volo quod in singulis columpnis navis ipsius ecclesie tam ex parte dextera quam sinistra fiant consimilia arma de latoun ibidem perpetuo remansura."¹ The bishop's will also contains further references to his burying-place, etc. One of these clauses directs that the usual services be said on the anniversary of his death "in medio navis ecclesie predicte circa tumulum meum ex utraque parte," and that mass be devoutly sung by the prior, "ad altare sancti Willelmi in superiori parte navis ecclesie predicte." For undertaking to do this his executors were to pay the prior and convent £40, "ad decorem navis ipsius ecclesie et in operibus faciendis imprimantur semper arma mea in mei memoriam." Another clause ordains a perpetual chantry of one monk "in navi ecclesie mee Norwicensis juxta tumulum sancti Willelmi et ante sepulturam meam." Finally the bishop leaves 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) "ad faciendum altare ante sepulturam meam et unum Reredoos," again on the condition "quod memoriale armorum meorum cum armis ecclesie in diversis locis

¹ Reg. Stafford, f. 131b.

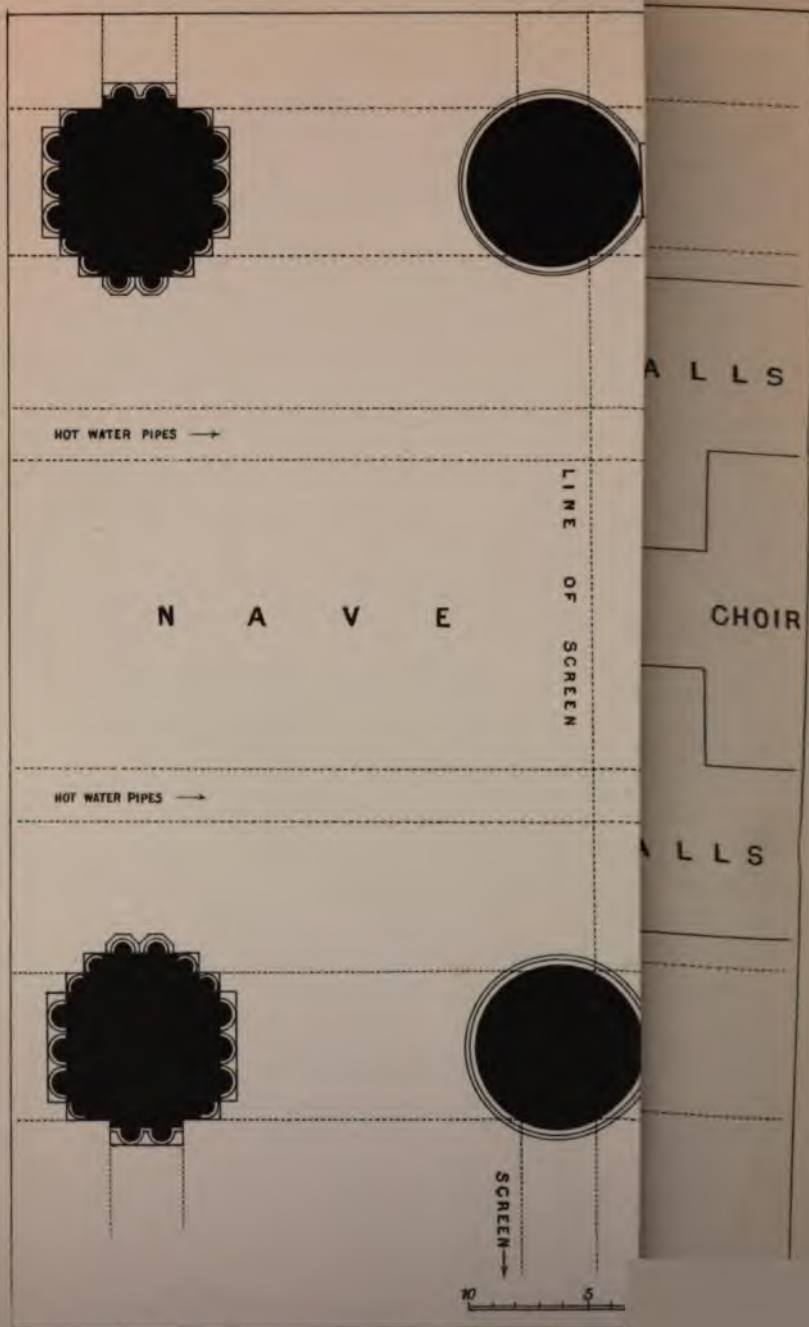
illius operis depingantur." By the irony of fate not a single example of the arms of this bishop seems to have been preserved in the church.

The altar near which Bishop Brown desired to be buried was originally the nave altar of the Holy Cross, but by the end of the thirteenth century it had become known as that of St. William. From analogy with other examples, it probably stood against a screen or wall crossing the church between the fourth pair of piers, pierced by doorways towards either end for the Sunday and other processions to pass through after making a station before the rood. The foundation of this screen we have lately found. The piers just mentioned differ from the other principal pairs west of them in having the twin ceiling shafts on the nave side cut away up to a height of $18\frac{1}{4}$ ft. from the floor, and terminated in carved corbels. The sharp edges of the flat surfaces thus formed are chamfered off to the same height. The corbels on the north side are apparently of the earlier half of the fourteenth century, and represent the busts of two men in hoods, with their hands raised on either side to uphold the shaft. Their arms have tight sleeves, with rows of five buttons on the under side. The wall surfaces, chamfers, and busts are all reddened with fire, and must, therefore, be anterior to 1463. The busts on the south side are similar, but of different date and style from those opposite, and have traces of painting on them. They show no signs of scorching, although the adjoining wall surfaces and chamfers are reddened, and would therefore appear to be part of the repairs after the fire of 1463. To what date the foundation of the screen belonged it is difficult to say, and we are equally uncertain as to the nature of the screen itself. The absence of any holes in the piers suggests that it was of stone. On the other hand

a foundation wall only 9 ins. wide seems too weak for a screen of some height, and the reddening of the stonework so far upwards, as well as across the whole width of the piers, points to the burning of a wooden screen when the blazing roof and ceiling fell in in 1463. In the sacrist's roll for 1442 there is a payment of 13s. 4d. to Simon Tabbard the carpenter, "pro deposicione trium lignorum supra altare sancti Willelmi."

The altar against the screen would, of course, stand upon a platform. As the grave in the centre of the bay is 7 ft. 3 ins. from the screen foundation, the steps probably projected about that distance westwards. In the sacrist's roll for 1440 is a payment of 8s. "pro emendacione graduum versus altare sancti Willelmi cum aliis diversis operibus factis circa pavimentum in ecclesia," which is followed by another of 3s. 4d. "pro posicione lapidis marmorei pro sepultura fratris Ricardi Midelton nuper Sacriste." It is possible that the grave in the centre is Richard Middleton's, and that Bishop Brown, when he died five years later, was buried in the grave next to it, and so *prope medium altaris*.

The bay in which the nave altar stood was enclosed by screens on the other three sides also. On the west there are holes in opposite faces of the great twisted columns for a transverse screen 11 feet high, and in the capital of the north pillar a deep cut exists for some work above, and slightly in advance of it. This screen has no foundation under the floor, but seems to have been of wood. The roll for 1394 accounts for 16d. collected "de trunco extra clausuram ante altare sancti Willelmi." The side arches were apparently closed by stone screens, if we may judge by the sharp limits of the fire stains. That on the north was in existence in the last century, and is engraved in Sir Thomas Browne's *Repertorium*, published in 1712. It owed its



preservation to its incorporation with the tomb of Sir James Hobart, one of Bishop Lyhert's executors, whose will, dated 27th July, 1516, contains the following interesting provision: "My body to be buried in the Cathedrall church called Crysts Church within the Citie of Norwyche in the north side of the bodie of the saied church as shall accorde with my degree with oute worldly pomp or pride betwixte ij pillars where a closing of friese stone of old tyme was begonne. The which closing I wyll have made pfighte and finished after the seyde werk there apperynge in maner and fourme of a chapell in the which I will have an awlter made for a priest to singe masse."¹ Sir James's tomb remains, and the carved achievement of his arms that formerly surmounted the screen, but the screen itself has gone. It is therefore, impossible to say how much and what part of it "of old tyme was begonne," or "made pfighte and finished" by Hobart's executors. There are indications of a like screen having crossed the opposite arch, but no representation or note of it has come down to us. Both transverse screens, as well as that built in the next bay by Lyhert, had screens in line with them crossing the south aisle.

The arrangement of the nave screens resolves itself into this: First we have Lyhert's *pulpitum*, with the quire door in the centre and an altar and reredos on either hand, each no doubt, within its own screen or *clausura*; then the rood-screen with its central altar and procession doors, flanked by side screens and inclosed westwards by the third screen.

This was the regular disposition in every large monastic church, and when these screens have disappeared, as in our ruined abbeys, the arrangement in question can

¹ P.C.C. 33, Ayloffe.

generally be made out from the holes for fixing the screens which remain in the pillars.

One other discovery must be mentioned. When making the excavation under the organ loft on Shrove Tuesday the trench was extended partly through the quire door on the chance that the grave might there be found of Bishop Thomas Percy, who died in 1369 and desired to be buried *ante chorum ecclesie*. No interment was found, but about 3 ft. down there seemed to be a layer of hard flint rubble. A similar layer, as stated above, had been found previously in our first trench before the north altar against the *pulpitum*; it was, therefore, decided to trace its limits. It was again found before the side of the south altar at a depth of about 2 ft., and was traced for some 10 ft. to a line 13 ft. 6 ins. westwards from Lyhert's screen, where it abruptly ends. Its thickness was not ascertained. This rubble bed would, therefore, seem to extend right across the nave, and for at least nearly two bays eastwards. Since its western limit coincides with the declared extent of Bishop Herbert's building, it is possible that for greater security, owing to the church being founded on a marsh, he underlaid his work with a foundation of flint rubble or concrete, which his successor did not think it necessary to continue.

A further excavation was made on March 3rd, on the south side of the central grave found on Shrove Tuesday, but no vault or brick grave was found. The excavation was extended westwards, and resulted in the discovery that the ordinary soil extended to the line of the screen between the twisted columns, and that immediately west of that line there was a mass of loose stones and mortar to some unascertained depth and width. We turned up several pieces of Purbeck pavement and fragments of a thick ledger stone, to which a brass had been fixed.

Within the western doorway of the south aisle of the nave two deep cuttings in the stone have been uncovered. In these cuttings are several small holes plugged with wood for the purpose of fixing something to the walls. Cuttings in the stonework indicate that formerly a screen or barrier existed across this aisle in a line with the first pier from the west end.

In conclusion, Dr. Bensly said: "Standing as I now do upon the steps of this beautiful pulpit, the gift of Dean Goulburn, I feel that I ought not to omit to add that he from time to time set apart a portion of his income for improving and beautifying the Cathedral, and that the balance of the fund, of which I am the surviving trustee, is about to be expended in recording in gilded letters on slabs of stone to be erected in the arcading near the west end of the nave, the names and dates of the Bishops of East Anglia, Dunwich, Elmham, Thetford, and Norwich, and those of the Priors and Deans of this Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Norwich. We Englishmen look with veneration upon our cathedrals. Like the stately homes of England, how beautiful they stand, the pride and glory of our native land! Our grand Norman Cathedral may be said to reflect not only the strength, genius, and wisdom of its founder, but in the massiveness of its piers, arches and walls, it appears to symbolise the breadth, strength, and stability of the Church of England."

A Note Book of Sir Miles Branthwayt in 1605

COMMUNICATED BY

WALTER RYE.

THE MS. from which the following notes are taken is in the possession of Sir Hugh Beevor, Bart., a descendant of Sir Miles Branthwayt, who has kindly allowed me to take the following extracts from it.

The chief interest is in the curious recipes which he seems to have collected at different times.

The following is a copy of the first page:—

A note of all such detts as wer owing to M(iles) B(ranthwayt) the 29 of November, 1605.

Brant.	My brother Henry Branthwayt by bond besides the longe forberance fower hundred poundes	250 li	cccc ^{li} to 650 ^{li}
Thetford.	Francis - Uppon all his assurances seven hundred and fourty pounds		740 ^{li}
Cornwalis.	Sr Charles and Sr William uppon all assuerances as appeareth by my other booke according to the accompt of 26 Januarii, 1604, seven hundred seventie one pounds ten shillings		771 ^{li} 10 ^s
Southwell.	My father Southwell by bill besides uses		60 ^{li}

Wright. Of desperate dett fyve hunded and forty
pounds 540^{li}
Webb. Mr. Webb upon all his assuerances for
himself and Sr John Carrell, my brother and
Mr. Woodhouse eight thousand and eight
hundred pounds 8800^{li}
Sequitur building.
This item struck out.

Among other debtors are Roger Hobart, £60; Sir Wm. Leighe, £120; Roger Ramsy, £1200; Mr. Rookewood, £60; Mr. Thomas Cryspe, £50; "my brother Hart, £15"; Sir Tho. Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, £105; Hy. Townshend, £508; Lady Maria Hevenyngham, £55; Richard Benslye, £10; "Gurny, 4 Aug., 1607," 20s.

The first batch of entries extends to 1611.

The following details of births, &c., enable us to correct the printed Visitations:—

My marriage was about 7 December, 1594, at Bartham in ye County of Suffolk, to Mary, one of the daughters of John Southwell, Esquire.	Milo Branthwayt nat fuit duo decimo die Augusti, 1560, anno Rne Eliza- bethe secundo.
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Margaret Branthwayt, eldest daughter of the above-named Myles and Mary his wyfe, was borne uppon Wensday the thyrtent of October, 1596, anno Rne Elizabethe tricesimo octavo betwixt eight and nyne in the forenone of the same day, and was baptized at Hemly in Suffolk, and had for godfather my brother, Henry Branthwayt, and for godmothers his wyfe, my mother Southwell, and my sister Bedyngfeld.

Elizabeth, the second daughter, was born at Hemly aforesayd the 15th of December, 1599, being Friday,

about eight of the clock, and died within three days after.

Elizabeth, the third chyld of the sayd Myles, was born at Breckles the 22nd of September, being Tuesday, betwixt ten and eleven in the nighte, anno dni. 1602 (1601 ?) ao. Regine Elizab. 43, and had for godfather Mr. William Gardiner, and for godmothers, my mother Southwell and Mrs Webb of Yxworthe.

Mary Branthwayt, the fourth daughter, was borne at Breckles uppon Tuesday, the 12th day of October, 1602, ao. Elizab. 44, and had for godfather Mr. Antho. Thwaytes by deputie, and for godmother my Mother Southwell only.

Arthur Branthwayt, the first borne living sone of the said Myles was borne at Heatheld the 5th day of October, 1604, being Friday, betwixt one and two in the afternone of the sayd day, and had for godfathers Sr. Arthure Heveningham and Sr. Charles Cornwallis, Knightes, and for godmother my sister Richardson.

The book also served as a general note book, from which I have selected the following:—

A MEDECINE FOR THE GREENE SICKNES.

First send to some apothecary for some physick to purge for the greene sicknes which she must take but once Yf yt worke well or ells must take twoo, one after an other.

Then the next daye take as much of the filings of steele prepared as will lye uppon a groate in a little pap of an apple twice a day about vij of the clock in the morning and three in the afternone, and walk after it every time, but not above ther strenth (strength ?) presently after

she have taken the steele she must drinke a draught of mace ale warme. She must take it ten dayes together, and when she make an end the next day she must purge.

A GOOD PURGE.

Take two ounces of syrrup of Damask roses, two ounces of syrrup of Ruberbe, and one ounce of syrrup agrick mixt together, and a third part taken in possit ale will serve for a good purge, so as the whole receyt will serve thrice.

A SOLLUBLE MEDECINE.

Take fower or fyve budds of damask roses and cut away the whyte, wash them, and eat them in the morning fasting, with bread and butter, and so many budds so many stooles.

Bitony leaves put into your nose in the morning fasting will purge the heade.

FOR A THORNE.

Take Birdlyme, lay yt on lether, and put it on the place where the thorne went in.

FOR THE BLODY FLUX OR OTHER FLUX.

A date stone in powder given in a drafte of red wyne warme to drinke.

Mynt water or syrrup of quinces being given fasting warme will stop either vomit or flux.

The following is a new version of the old charm:—

“Christe was the first man that ever thorne prickt uppon, He did neother swell nor bell nor feel any payne, nor I trust in the Lorde Jesus Christe this never shall.”

Durant' locutione quor' verbor' signa vulnus signo crucis et durant' verb' sequent'.

E prees (*sic*) excepting the lorde is wth the.

Hayle Mary full of grace, blessed art thou Mary amongst all women, and blessed is the frute and springe of thy wombe, sweete Jesus, Amen. In the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Holy Ghoste, sweete Jesus, Amen. And postea duas prec dominical' j Pater noster, &c., &c. Omnia hec sunt ter dicenda cum confidentia in deo, etc. Sudariol vel aliquis pannus linteus est benedicend' th (*sic*) forma et tunc ponend' sup vulnus vel morbum.

FOR THE COUGH IN THE LUNGES BY THE LADY
THOCKMORTON.

Take of shurbfoyle, sorrell, and Celendine of ech a quantity, but least of the Celendine, chop them small and make porage thereof wth oatmeale, barme, and butter, and a very little gross pepper. Eat a littel of this porage untill you be weary of it, then rest and begin againe.

Boile a good quantity of these herbes in clean possit ale and drinke a good draughte of yt last at nighte when you are in the bed, wth sugar or without, but best wth sugar.

AN OTHER.

Take litle peeces of lucras (? liquorice) well scraped and holde betwene each syde of your cheekes, one of them all nyghte. Do so for three weekes together or longer yf you will. Conserve of red roses with pepper very grosly beaten, or rather cut in the mydel, eaten morning or evening.

The quantity of a little walnut when you take not the porage.

Rosted garlycs is good with your meate.

A GYRDELL FOR THE STONE.

Take fetherfew, garden tansy, planten, howseleeke, of ech a like quantity, but least of the howseleeke, stampe

them, straine them, and put the juyces of them into a glass bottell to keepe.

Take so much of the same juyce as beane flower and so much as you will, seeth them till they be thick like salve, then spreede yt upon a linnen clothe three fyngers broad and lay yt about the smale of the back up to the navill, let yt lye till yt be drye, then change yt. Use this six dayes and for other six.

This was used to Mr. St. John whene all physicians and surgeons had given over, and cured him.

3 July, 1596.

THE ORDER OF MAKING PELLETS FOR ONE THAT IS THICKE OF HEARING.

Take of the cleanest and fynest stone pitre 4 grains of pure musk, fynely ground upon a perfuming stone, 8 graines, and by some that hath faer and cleane hands betwixt the thumbe and palme make the pitre soft lyke wax, wetting your finger and palm a little with fasting spittle whereby yt shall not cleave to when yt is become soft, then mould yt in the powder of the musk that is ground upon the stone till yt have received yt all, afterwards incorporate them together in the palm as aforesaid, then devyde it into 2 small pellets betwixt your fingers of almost half an Inch long, and lapp yt in Cersnett whyt or Crymson, what couller you lyke, of that proportion that the eare may safelie receive yt.

Then tye the Cearsnett with a silke thread hard, and leave the two ends of the thread about 2 Inches longe, cuttinge of the Cearsnett to make yt lyke a tuft. Then let them lye till they be hardened againe, as pire (? for pitre) will, and then thrust one of them into your ear as far as you can induce yt, on which syde you feel most imperfections, leaving the thread to be turned

behynd the eare that you may pull yt out the rather when you list, wearing yt nyght or day, or both, or in one eare or both, as you see occasion, yf you thinke good.

This pellet thus prepared will last you a quarter of a yeare, to be worne either continually, or of nyghte if you list not to weare yt of the day, being clenly and close laid up in when you use yt not.

Heareof you save 2 ready to be used for your eare or eares.

I have also sent you a masse or pellett ready tempered and wrought to make 2 more of the same pporcon (proportion) wch. will keepe as yt is a yeare or two. But when you devyde yt to make into 2 pellets yt must be mollifyed in ones handes and lapped up as aforesaid.

This medecyn hath ben tryed and done good to many of all ages and offensive to none.

My ould Lady Stanhopp used yt and found such great ease in yt that she wore yt till her dyinge daye.



HICKLING LANE, SWAINSTHORPE.
LOOKING WEST FROM THE RAILWAY BRIDGE.

On the Course of the Ickneild Way through Norfolk.

COMMUNICATED BY

J. C. TINGEY, M.A., F.S.A.

ON the south coast of England in Dorsetshire is the southern termination of the cretaceous formation, which from thence strikes north-east and is continued through Wiltshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and lastly Norfolk, where it loses itself in the North Sea at Hunstanton Cliff. Now the chalk where it reaches the surface is for the most part a deposit upheaved to some altitude above the sea level, and its strike is almost as clear on a physical map as on a geological one. For instance, there are the Dorset Heights and Cranborne Chase, then the Wiltshire and Berkshire Downs, and the Chiltern Hills, which are continued in the East Anglian Heights. Moreover, in some of the ordinary geographical maps of England this line is quite distinct, owing to the sparseness of the population in its locality. To the west of the chalk that is underlying it the greensand occurs; its exposed surface is never very wide, and often disappears altogether. It is a low-lying formation, and Charles Kingsley has spoken of it as the

Greensand Valley, which is represented in East Anglia by the Fens.

Along the whole length of the chalk downs and overlooking the Greensand Valley antiquaries have traced a road or trackway extending as far as Suffolk and presumed to have reached the sea somewhere on the coast of Norfolk. This trackway bears different names in different localities, but it is generally known to antiquaries as the Ickneild Way, a term which Dr. Guest has expanded into "Icen hilde weg," and his interpretation of it is "The highway or war way of the Iceni."¹ It is closely associated with British hill forts and earthworks, and avoids Roman encampments, and is also said to shun rivers and towns; but the chalk ridge is not a place where one would expect to find the one or the other, so that the matter of the rivers at least is only a consequence, yet it must be confessed that it behaves in a peculiar way in the neighbourhood of certain towns.

Mr. Arthur Taylor, writing fifty years ago,² gave documentary proof of the existence of this road at Newmarket, between which place and Dunstable it is comparatively easy to trace it. He then goes on to shew its course to Thetford through Icklingham. Dr. Guest also traces it to Icklingham, but does not venture further.

Few have said anything on the site of the Ickneild Way between Icklingham and the coast of Norfolk, and they differ considerably in their opinions—one makes for Caistor, another for Norwich, another for Tasburgh—each appears to have settled upon one of these places, and more or less imagined the road to it. Now, if the geological and physical evidence is followed, and the chalk elevation in Norfolk examined, what is the result?

¹ *Essay on the Four Roman Ways, Archaeological Journal*, vol. xiv., p. 99.

² *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, Norwich*, p. 21.

Strangely enough two roads are found, and the difficulty is to determine which is the right one. For a long time the writer was of the opinion that it could be none other than the Peddar's Way, but his attempts to connect that road with the Ickneild Way did not meet with much success. After a while, meeting with Mr. Beloe's *Essay on the Great Fen Road*,¹ he discarded the Peddar's Way for the Ailesway. The course of this last, between Narford and Hunstanton, may be left entirely to Mr. Beloe. South of Narford, however, where it is no longer a part of the Great Fen Road, he conducts it to Brandon Ferry by a curving line, with its convex side to the west, and gets into some marshy tracts. Possibly he has good reasons for doing so, but the uninitiated may prefer a line through Ickburgh and Cockley Cley, having its convex side to the east. Faden's map of Norfolk, published just a hundred years ago, shows a very suitable road, which has apparently entirely disappeared since the inclosure of the parishes, leading to the latter place. By taking this route the higher ground will be traversed, and no very formidable obstacles encountered, the Wissey being crossed at Mundford. "From Brandon," Mr. Beloe says, "the Ailesway goes to join the Ickneild," presumably at Newmarket, after crossing Portway Hill. It is, however, sufficient for the present purpose to point out that he acknowledges the connection.

While the geological evidence leads to the conclusion that the Ailesway represents the original and probably prehistoric course of the Ickneild, its name is a proof that the Angles did not recognize it as such, and therefore it cannot be considered a portion of one of the four great roads mentioned in the laws of Edward the Confessor. The constant geographical changes occurring on the east coast may have produced a harbour in this

¹ *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, vol. vii. pp. 112-130.

direction more convenient for the continental trade than the roadstead at Hunstanton, the latter perhaps deteriorating owing to the encroachments of the sea.

The former importance of Hunstanton is attested by the fact that no less than four ancient roads led to it, and it was the terminus of two of them. There was this Ailesway connecting it by the Ickneild Way with the south-western parts of the island, that is to say with the tin district. Next there was the Fen Road extending due west at least as far as the Ermine Street, and thus communicating with the north and north-west. Then there was the Peddar's Way leading to London and the south, and there was the Akeman Street lying between the Fen Road and the Ickneild, conducting to the west. It should also be noticed that the Fen Road coming from March has an easterly direction until it has passed the fen and reached the firm ground, where it turns at almost a right angle to the north, a fact which can only be accounted for by supposing that some place in the north-west corner of Norfolk was its destination.

As already stated, the four Roman roads mentioned in the laws of Edward the Confessor could not have included the Ailesway, and so the question still remains, viz., what was the recognized course of the Ickneild Street at that period?

In endeavouring to answer this question it is the design of the present paper to make use of such documentary evidence as is forthcoming, and to connect the points so demonstrated by what seems the most probable route.

Blomefield states in his account of Banham that one of the roads there was called Tycknald Street,¹ surely a corruption of "The Ickneild Street." It has not been possible for the writer to test this statement, but should it be considered insufficient, further evidence will shortly

¹ *History of Norfolk*, vol. i., p. 367.

be adduced shewing that there is reason to believe that the road in question passed through Banham. Now to connect Newmarket with Banham. Two intervening places at once demand attention—the one is Icklingham, the other Thetford, and Mr. Taylor conducts it to the former through Kentford and Cavenham, and thence by the division of the Hundreds of Lachford and Blackbourn to the latter, implying that the river Lark was crossed at Lachford. This is the generally accepted course, and there is no disposition to call it in question here if it is admitted that Thetford stood chiefly on the Suffolk side of the river. Beyond Thetford Mr. Taylor's objective was avowedly Norwich, and quite recently Mr. W. G. Clarke has attempted to fill in the intermediate points for him, and has supposed a line closely coinciding with the modern turnpike road from Norwich to Thetford. Probably Mr. Clarke has traced a road now no longer in existence, but he is evidently wedded to the Norwich theory, and the statement "that Norwich Castle Hill was one of the most noted British earthworks in East Anglia is undisputed," seriously discounts what is really a very valuable paper, and as he takes his road over the Thet at Thetford he is compelled to cross the same river again at Larlingford.¹

It has been said before that the Ickneild Street avoids towns, and this paper suggests that on approaching Thetford it turned somewhat abruptly at Old Elvedon Gap to the east and reached the Little Ouse at a point which is now the south-east corner of Barnham Cross Common some mile and a half above Thetford and the junction with the Thet. There is here but a narrow strip of low ground on either side of the river, and the high ground of Snare Hill on the Norfolk bank would have tempted the prehistoric traveller. Then clinging to the

¹ *Knowledge*, February, 1899.

watershed of the two mentioned rivers, a district abounding in tumuli, of which the Seven Hills may be noticed, it passed the future site of Shadwell Park to the Harlings, and so by Up-hall and Kenninghall to Banham. In admitting that no trace of this road is known to exist, at all events on the heaths, the present writer is met with the same difficulty that others have encountered in the immediate neighbourhood, and he may be permitted to say with them that the continuous growth of the bracken has obliterated all trace of it. As an alternative, a line from Elvedon to Barnham and so over the river where Rushford Bridge now stands to Shadwell may be mentioned.

Leaving Banham, the next point is a still existing trackway about twelve miles distant, dividing the modern parishes of Swainsthorpe and Dunston, and to this day known as Hickling Lane. This way is mentioned in a seventeenth century conveyance as *Icklinge Way*, e.g. Thomas Steward conveyed to John Mingaye meadows and pasture in Swainsthorpe "between the highway leading from Newton to Norwich on the west part, and the river running between Stoke Holy Cross and the town of Swainsthorpe on the east, and between a way called *Icklinge Way* leading from the said river to Kenninghall on the north part, and the lands of Gilbert Havers in part, and the Common of Swainsthorpe on the south part." Also twenty-three acres in Swainsthorpe "between the highway leading from Newton to Norwich on the east, and the way called *Icklinge Way* on the north, and the way leading from the site of the Manor of Swainsthorpe to the Church of Swainsthorpe on the south."¹

To say nothing of the similarity in the name, these items are sufficient to identify the track, at least so far

¹ Deeds enrolled within the County of Norfolk, 1st October, 1622.

as it was the boundary of the lands conveyed. It is an exceedingly pretty green lane, and though so near Norwich, is apparently known to few, for the writer has never seen anyone there saving those he had taken with him. The railway passes underneath it, and allowing for the making of the railway arch, it has perhaps not been touched for centuries, except that the hedges on either side may have been planted when the parishes were enclosed.

At first sight one would suppose that nothing would be easier than to trace this road to Kenninghall, and consider the matter settled; but one cannot proceed far before being completely baffled, for after walking a few hundred yards, Hickling Lane meets a farm road running at right angles to it, and comes to an abrupt termination, yet it is almost certain that the roads here are to all intents the same now as they were a hundred years ago. The alternative of starting from the other end, viz., Kenninghall, seems to be the most simple way of pursuing the enquiry. That the Ickneild Way ran from Kenninghall to Banham has already been asserted, and the continuation of this road to Norwich has long been considered the modern representative of the same street, and so lends colour to Blomefield's statement that a street in Banham was called Tyeknald. The fact that William de Albini chose a spot adjoining it for the Castle and Town of New Buckenham is perhaps significant, while Old Buckenham Castle, dating from the Roman occupation according to Harrod, is not quite two miles distant.

Advancing towards Norwich, there is nothing to demand attention until Mulbarton is reached. The distance from this place to Hickling Lane is about a mile as the crow flies, and if the two roads are to be connected at all, it is necessary to turn towards the east here, making the most of what can be found. There is a right

of way beginning with a footpath from Mulbarton Church, which shortly enters a completely isolated loke, and at the far end of this there is something resembling a trackway, which finally becomes a footpath again, leading towards Swainsthorpe Workhouse, and ends in the same road where Hickling Lane disappears, at a point some quarter of a mile further south.

This right of way has not been mentioned with the idea of asserting that it represents the identical course of the ancient Ickneild Way, but only to suggest a possibility that it ran somewhere near this line, which the requirements of agriculture may have determined. Returning to Hickling Lane, almost due north of the Workhouse, there is a plantation, and a little further west a gate where the lane enters a field. West of the gate the character of the road is entirely changed, and its ancient appearance is lost, so that it can be imagined to have once upon a time traversed the field adjoining the workhouse, which alone divides it from the right of way or footpath just noticed.

The conveyance quoted also states that Icklinge Way started from the river, evidently pointing to the Taas. The road is still there, and is still the boundary of the two parishes, although completely modernised between the turnpike and the river, and at this time known as Stoke Lane. It does not cross the river immediately, but turns to the north to Stoke Mill, and so passes over the dam, while if the narrow strip of meadow which separates the river from the turning point of the road is examined, a tree will be found in the line of the hedge on the left, and some appearance of a causeway is discernible as far as the river in the line of the road,¹

¹ This point is indicated in the latest Ordnance Survey thus: "C. old R.", presumably meaning "Course of old Road."



which causeway may also be traced on the six inch ordnance map.

As to the river, it is surely a more formidable obstacle now than it was in pre-historic times, when water power was hardly used for grinding corn, for when the mill was constructed (some centuries ago) it was necessary to hold back the water for the motive power, and most likely a way over the mill dam was in course of time found to be more convenient.

The next piece of evidence must now be treated. It is from a Common-place Book¹ of Henry Appleyard of Dunston, who copied it in 1592 from an extent of Dunston, by Mr. William Lacy, Clarke of the King's Council, 20th Aug., 1482.

"Item A pece of marshe and lythe on the sowthe syde of Stooke mill environid wth y^e water of trane northe and east warde, and the common of Dunston on the west, and buttith on Hiclynge weye sowthe warde and conteynithe v acars of marshe."

This marsh can be no other than the narrow meadow just mentioned, but whether the river then ran in its present channel is not so certain. It is spoken of in the conveyance as though it were the division of the townships of Stoke Holy Cross and Swainsthorpe, and, strictly speaking, this is not now the case, although the distance between the two never exceeds two hundred yards, and the writer having studied the ordnance maps, inclines to the opinion that the present parish boundary (it is still a watercourse) represents the ancient channel of the stream. However that may be it is definitely stated that Hiclynge weye ran at the southern end of this piece of marsh, and this tends to confirm the existence of the causeway spoken of above. Here the parish boundary

¹ Norwich Castle Museum Library.

runs about one hundred yards east of the point where it is shown that the causeway struck the river.

It may perhaps be mentioned here that Faden, who gave particular attention to the ancient tideways in his map of the county, published in 1797, does not represent it as flowing higher up the Taas than Stoke Mill, so that he would make the road to cross the stream just above the spot reached by the highest tides.

The marsh on the right bank is much wider than that on the left, and there is an arable field between it and the road from Stoke Church to Caistor. Here the causeway may perhaps be followed for a few yards from the river, and here seems to have been the shortest passage of the marsh. No documentary evidence is at present forthcoming that will afford a clue till the road is crossed, where a mortgage gives some further information. Before it is examined let it be stated that the distance over which the track is lost is less than four hundred yards, and let it be supposed that Hicklinge Way pursued a straight course in traversing this distance, then it would have opened on to the Caistor Road opposite to a by-road now leading to Poringland mill. Whether this by-road is identical with the one which existed previous to the enclosures may be questioned. At all events the divergence cannot be great, and it may here be neglected.

The mortgage is dated 29 May, 1629, and by it Francis Style pledged his lands in Stoke Holy Cross to Edward Myleham. The schedule of the lands contains the following items: "Inprimis one messuage called Lachelowes, and the Stone House, one pigthle parcel of the tenement Toogoodes, and three pieces of pasture called the Sled Close, Ints Close, and Home Close, in Stoke Holy Cross in divers wents, and adjoining to the said tenement Lachelows, and sideth in part and abutteth in part upon Maynes Grene and the common way leading from Porland

Heath to Stokefield towards the south, containing sixteen acres."

"Item, one other close called Dawes Close, newly divided with a ditch or hedge from the residue of the said close, containing thirty acres in Stoke in divers wents lying and heading upon the said Hicklinge Way on the south, and extending unto a brook or beck running from Halsted Grove unto Rockellswood, and upon the said wood in part, and Bromeclose in part, and the common field of Stoke in part towards the west, and upon or unto Wendlowe Close in part on the north."

"Item, one other close newly parted with a ditch in or near the middle thereof, lying in divers wents in Stoke, the said Hicklinge Way being on the south side thereof, and Rockellswood and the Brome Close on the north part thereof, and abuts upon the common field called Millfield towards the west, and upon the beck aforesaid towards the east, containing thirty acres."¹

It is much to be regretted that the writer of the schedule was not more precise (if he is correct in the second item) in concluding that he has already alluded to Hicklinge Way: there is only "the common way leading from Porland Heath to Stokefield" to fall back upon, for no other road is mentioned. It is evident that Hicklinge Way held a course lying approximately east and west through Stoke Holy Cross, as is here required, and there is a suspicion that some point on it was not far from the mill.

Now the present by-road, which seems to be the site of Hicklinge Way, does lead to what was once Poringland Heath, under the name of Stoke Long Lane, and Faden's map does not show any other road that will answer the description, therefore if there is anything in circumstantial evidence, one must conclude that Hicklinge Way led to

¹ Deeds enrolled within the County of Norfolk.

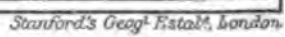
Poringland Heath, and if the modern road may be trusted, to the very top of Poringland Hill, which is about two miles from the Taas, and at one time thought to be the highest ground in Norfolk.

Again in 1658 William London conveyed to Robert London "two enclosures or parcels of land and pasture now converted into three enclosures in Stoke Holy Cross, containing together by estimation thirty acres, being parcel of the close commonly called Butcher's Close, in Stoke Holy Cross, as the same parcels do lie there together between the common way there called Hicklinge Way in part, and the lands and meadows late of Francis Style, now Francis London, called Oldsteade Grove and Beall's Hill meadow in part on the north part, and two other parcels of the said Butcher's Close, late the said Francis Style, now Thomas Lawse on the south part, and abutteth upon the land late the said Francis Style, after that Robert Parke, now the said Thomas Lawse, called Chequer Close towards the west, and upon the lands late Edmund Doyly, now Sir William Doyly, knight, towards the east."¹

The majority of the field names mentioned in both deeds are entirely lost. Such as remain tend to demonstrate that Stoke Long Lane is the representative of Hicklinge Way, as is illustrated by the accompanying plan. A brook or beck passes under the road west-north-west of Tagus Farm, where the smallest figures indicating the altitudes occur, and although Broom Close is still to be found, Broom Hills probably occupy the site of the old enclosure of that name; the names of the other fields also show a slight variation.

Having ascended the hill, one desires a breathing space which may be advantageously occupied by viewing the surrounding country and ascertaining one's whereabouts,

¹ Deeds enrolled within the County of Norfolk.


$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 80 \text{ Chains} \\ 320 \text{ Perches} \end{array} \right\} 1 \text{ Mile}$$

not to mention that from this point documentary evidence fails. To the north-north-west Norwich Castle may be seen; it is already being left behind, and to reach it it is necessary to turn sharply to the left along the turn-pike road coming from Bungay. If Norwich is insisted upon as the objective of the Ickneild Way, the question why it should be approached in such a circuitous direction immediately occurs, for two sides of a right-angled triangle will have been perambulated where the hypotenuse, the direct route, presenting no insuperable obstacles, has been neglected. In fact, if anyone can prove that the Ickneild Way passed through Norwich the entire argument of the present paper falls to the ground. On the other hand, if there is anything to the point in this paper, it is most fortunate that it has been possible to demonstrate the path of the Ickneild Way at the very spot where Norwich and Caistor were likely to mislead.

Caistor, since it is on low ground, is not visible from Poringland Hill; that, too, has been passed where the road leading to it was crossed, that is to say, leaving it a mile distant on the north, and so, with Old Buckenham Castle, affording instances of the statement that the Ickneild Way avoided Roman stations.

The road leading to Caistor is called the Pye Road, said to be a Norman name¹ given to a trackway utilized by the Romans, and the parish in which the roads cross one another is Stoke Holy Cross. Is this nothing more than a coincidence, or was there a cross erected here before the church was dedicated? In other words, was the church dedicated to the Holy Cross in consequence of an existing epithet?

Having come thus far, there being but twelve miles intervening between Poringland Hill and a suitable

¹ *Local Names in Norfolk.*

termination for the road, it is hoped that the writer, for lack of anything better, may be permitted to express his crude opinion as to the direction in which enquiries should be pursued.

If it is admitted that had the ancient way any intention of crossing the Wensum, it would have done so at some spot where the river was fordable, and not, as would from this point be necessary, over what was formerly an estuary of the sea, a northerly course is denied. Moreover, having followed a north-easterly direction, the west, and to a less extent the south, appear utterly out of the question. The east alone remains open for the research, and it is advisable to keep near the watershed of the Wensum and the Chet as far as possible.

The modern road that has been followed from Stoke Holy Cross shews no sign of ending at Poringland; it crosses the Bungay Road, and then proceeds in a straight line nearly to Framingham Earl Church, where it turns to the right and left, leaving the enquirer very puzzled as to how he should proceed, and causing this last advance to be questioned.

Fortunately for the investigation, those who have spoken on the Roman roads of Norfolk have affirmed, with every show of reason, that a Roman road led from Caistor-by-Norwich to Haddiscoe, and so on to Burgh Castle,¹ while Mr. J. W. Robberds would conduct it, without much argument however, to Wheatacre Burgh.² Such a road must have run through Framingham Earl and then by Bergh Apton, the Venta Icenorum of Spelman, passing some British barrows there in the proximity of Thurton Church,³ to Loddon, Raveningham, and Haddiscoe. This road, at all events between Haddiscoe

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. 23, p. 366. *Local Names in Norfolk*, p. 170.

² *Eastern Valleys of Norfolk*, p. 31.

³ *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. v., p. 180.

and Raveningham, is known as the Port Way, and Dr. Mason, speaking of the Ickneild Street, says that from (New) Buckenham "one route goes direct to Caistor, and the other route goes near Taseburgh, south of Hemenhale, north of Ditchingham Hall, crossing the road from Loddon to Beccles, passing between Toft and Heckingham, by Hadiscoe Church to Burgh Castle,"¹ demonstrating that he also would lead the Ickneild Street to Haddiscoe, although by a route that is not under discussion here, while the first route confirms much that has been stated.

Beyond Haddiscoe nothing is now essayed. It may very well be that a port existed here in Celtic times, and that the Ickneild Way had it for its termination.

Returning to Swainsthorpe, let the road be followed to the south-west. A hamlet of Mulbarton, once a distinct township, is known as Keningham. Next, in Old Buckenham, was formerly some spot called Kentlow; then comes Kenninghall, while in Icklingham there is said to be an encampment named Kentfield.² Cambridgeshire is entered at Kentford, with Kennet close at hand. Adjoining Dunstable on the south is Kensworth. In Berkshire the Kennet and Kintbury Hundreds are found. After leaving Andover a tumulus named Kentbarrow is passed, and finally beyond Exeter Kenn and Kenn Ford are met with.

Since there are many other places in England having the prefix Ken (Kensington and Kenilworth will occur to most readers), it may be suspected that the presence of some of those mentioned is only coincidence, on the other hand is it right to assume that the whole list is the result of accident?

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 12.

² *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, Norwich*, p. 20.

Now Kensworth in Herts. seems in former times to have been known as Ikenworth.¹ It almost touches the Ickneild Way, and perhaps affords a key to the puzzle. Let this key be put to the test in the case of Kenninghall, and the result will be found exceedingly interesting. In the first place the Celtic tribe inhabiting the district which afterwards became East Anglia, were known to their fellow tribes as "y Ceni," that is the head ones, "y" being the definite article. The Romans kept the name, expressing it in their tongue as Iceni, the initial "I" being very soft and the "C" very hard. Then came the Angles, and they too heard of the tribe whom they designated Ikenings as the nearest phonetic equivalent to the Roman name in their language. Secondly, the accepted etymology of Kenninghall is hall of the Kennings, of Ikenninghall it would be hall of the Ikennings, but to use a mathematical expression, the "I" goes out. Even the Romans did not attach much weight to it, for they spoke of the same people as the Iceni and the Cenimagni, and thus Kenninghall may be interpreted as hall of (the) Ceni. This reasoning has been anticipated by Camden, and it may be the foundation of the story that Queen Boadicea resided here, a statement which need not be believed. The writer is aware that Canon Manning declined to entertain the foregoing argument, still it may be questioned whether he has considered it more than superficially.²

Notice should also be taken of another point, viz., the two stumbling blocks that have caused so much confusion, the one Norwich, the other Bury St. Edmund's. The best authorities are now agreed that Norwich Castle Hill

¹ *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. ii., c. 1963.

² *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. vii., p. 290.

was thrown up by the Angles,¹ and there is nothing to prove that either Britons or Romans used the locality as a permanent habitation, while before the Romans guarded the estuary with their camps, the sea rovers would have rendered it untenable. Almost the same may be said of Bury. There is little or no proof of British or Roman occupation, and the idea that it was the Villa Faustina of the Antonine Itinerary no longer commands absolute belief. Now, after the Angles had settled at Norwich, and St. Edmund's Bury become a resort for

¹ When the basement of the Castle Keep was being cleared, at the time of its conversion into a Museum, excavations were made with a view to ascertaining the nature of the soil beneath. The following extract is from a letter written at the time (October, 1888), to the Rev. O. W. Tancock, by Mr. F. W. Harmer, F.G.S., a most competent eye witness:—

"After you left, Mr. Hudson and I went into the Castle. We then found that the trial shaft had gone down through made soil 43 ft. before it reached undisturbed ground. (At the bottom of the shaft the sand out of which the valley has been excavated was met with). Allowing 10 ft. for the height of the present floor line of the keep above the surface of the mound, this gives 33 ft. as the depth of the artificial portion, and this would bring us nearly to the level of the ground at the bottom of the Castle Hill. I think we may take it for granted that no architects, either ancient or modern, would have excavated the interior of the keep to this depth after the erection of the walls, and I think it is equally certain that no one destroyed the supposed spur of the high land of Ber Street for the pleasure of reconstructing it with made soil. If we have to go down 33 ft. from the surface of the mound before we reach undisturbed strata *on the side of the mound towards the high ground of Ber Street, a fortiori*, we should have to go at least an equal depth on the side towards the river, where the ground naturally slopes towards the lowest part of the valley. The earliest occupants of the Castle space naturally selected it as a point of vantage, but it was not high enough for their purpose, and so they raised it with the soil that was nearest at hand. The excavation of the different moats—40 ft. deep, as Mr. Hudson says—would provide an immense amount of material, and how could it be more naturally or conveniently utilized than in raising the mound, which no doubt grew in height from time to time. It occurs to me that a similar mound may be seen at Eye, and another at Thetford. Is not the Castle Hill at Cambridge artificial?"

See also the "Official Guide to Norwich Castle Museum," p. 36.

pilgrims, the traffic on the Ickneild Way, running, as it does, conveniently near both places, was certain to be tapped in either direction, and the loops that are seen to-day passing through each of these towns are the result of the diversion, which has effectively caused the track, where it skirted these places, to fall into disuse, and to be almost obliterated by the lapse of centuries, the decadence of the terminus assisting the process.

In conclusion, the writer does not pretend that the last word on this obscure subject has been said—probably it never will be said—he only trusts that his opinions may be weighed with those of others, and credence given to the one who approaches nearest to the goal.

Inventories of the parish church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.

BY

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

THE first of the Inventories which form the subject of this communication is contained in a paper book of thirty-three leaves, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins., now known as MS. 871 of the Stowe Collections in the British Museum.¹

It is written throughout in English, in a clear hand of the beginning of the sixteenth century, with added entries by at least six later scribes.

There is no original heading or title to the document, but on the first page is written in a seventeenth century hand:

“An Inventory of Books, Copes, Vestments, Altar Cloaths,
Carpets, Curtains, Hangings, Mitres, Croziers, Silver

¹ The transcript from which the following text is printed was obligingly made by the Rev. W. Hudson, M.A., F.S.A., and the text has been collated throughout, when in proof, with the original manuscript.

plate and Gilded Chalices, Basons, Pixes, Holy Water Stopps, Banner Cloaths, Napery, Towells, &c. formerly belonging to St Peter's Church in the City of Norwich, and there used before the Reformation, &c."

On the second page¹ is also written, in the same hand :
 "This Book formerly belong'd to St Peter (of Mancrofts) Church in Norwich."

Although the inventory lacks its original heading, the internal evidence is conclusive that it refers to the church of St. Peter Mancroft at Norwich, and that its date must fall within the first few years of the sixteenth century.

Inventories of such a date are comparatively so rare that every additional example is of value, especially when it deals with the goods and ornaments of an important church like St. Peter Mancroft. But in this instance the value is greatly enhanced by the fact that the inventory, besides being an unusually full one and containing a large number of interesting items, describes in careful terms where each particular set of ornaments was kept. The importance of this will be understood when it is stated that no such detailed account of the furniture and contents of the medieval vestry of an English parish church has hitherto come to light.

The church of St. Peter Mancroft, as we now see it,

¹ On the second page, in a hand somewhat later than the original, is this note :

es^p day last paste [lj^a *struck out*] iij^a ij^d.

and at the bottom of the same page, reversed, in a second hand :

j p^r c^a [xlj *struck through*] xlv ys of [pcell gylt *struck out*] whyt.

ij p Cha xxij^a [pcell *written over*] wyte.

j pyx xvij^a all gilt.

j payer Obyler (?) [*all struck out*] xx^a all gilt.

I^p A whele iijj and di.

Dedecacion xvj^a viij^d.

Similar entries in the same hand occur on ff. 24b and 33a. See *post*.

is a re-building of about the middle of the fifteenth century of an older structure on the same site. It consists of a chancel of three bays, with aisles of two bays, a nave and aisles of six bays, north and south transepts, north and south porches, a western tower, and a three-storied building at the east end containing the vestries, etc. The arcades are continuous throughout, as are the clerestory and grand open roof above them.

The chancel was formerly separated from the nave by a rood screen, crossing the entire width of the church, and surmounted by a rood loft, reached by a large circular vice on each side. The pulley from which was suspended the light that burnt continually before the rood or "patible" on the "perk" or beam above the loft still remains in the roof, as it does also at the neighbouring church of St. Stephen. Between the stalls, which occupied the bay next the screen, and the altar platform, which filled the first or easternmost bay, was a flight of many steps. These exist, but their original disposition has been altered during the successive "restorations" the church has undergone. The steps are due to the existence, beneath the altar platform, of an archway or passage leading from one side of the church to the other. This passage was made to provide a way for the Palm Sunday and other processions which usually made the circuit of the church and cemetery, because the way round the old church had been blocked through the extension of the new building to the eastern limit of the graveyard.

Besides the high altar, which was anciently surmounted by a great reredos flanked by tabernacles with images of St. Peter and St. Paul, there were four other altars in the church, placed in the chancel aisles and transepts, and dedicated respectively in honour of Our Lady, St. John Baptist, the Holy Trinity, and St. Nicholas.

The contents of the Inventory may be classified, according to their order, as follows:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| i. Books | vii. Curtains and Altar Hangings |
| ii. Palls and Carpets | viii. Altar Cloths |
| iii. Cushions and Pillows | ix. Mitres and Crosiers |
| iv. Copes and Vestments | x. Banner Cloths and Staves |
| v. Silver Plate, Jewels, and Relics | xi. Napery |
| vi. Corporases, Canopies, and Pix Cloths | xii. Lumber Timber |

i. Foremost among the books were those used at the hour services, consisting of five antiphonars and three others described as old, three legends, a book for the chanters or *rectores chori*, a book for the organs, a "vitetory booke" with the hymns, a pricksong book, a collectar, four old psalters and another in the custody of Sir Thomas Love, and an old portose or breviary. For use at mass were four grails and a little one which "servyth for Childern," a "pistill booke," a "gospelary," and ten *missalia* or massbooks, Of the last-named, four were used at the high altar, one "for every day." A fifth belonged to John Cosyn's chantry, kept at the altar of Our Lady, and two others, one old, to the same altar. The other three massbooks belonged to the altars of St. John, the Holy Trinity, and St. Nicholas respectively. For use in processions were nine "processionaries," and for occasional services a manual. The list is completed by an *ordinale* or ordinal. The only addition to the original list is an antiphonar "of conyers yift."

ii. Of the coverings called palls there were five: one was of blue silk with gold images of the Salutation and St. Paul and St. Nicholas; another of green with gold lions; and a third, which was perhaps a herse-cloth for funerals, was of black velvet, with a cross of

cloth of gold, and powdered with angels. A sixth pall was afterwards added of black "steynyð with fflowyrs."

The list of carpets includes a number of coverlets, cushions, banker cloths, etc.

The carpets and coverlets seem to have been very poor, the only one of any value being apparently a great carpet of white, green, and red, to lay before the high altar. The others had once been pretty things, and it is not difficult to picture in one's imagination the red and yellow coverlet powdered with griffins and knots, or the blue one with its decoration of oak trees and birds and a "scripture," praying, maybe, for the good estate of the donor. Three cushions of carpet work are described as "longyng to the presbitery," i.e. the sedilia, but on ordinary occasions there were "iij old qwishons daily lying" therein. For the "forme in the queer," whatever that may have been, there was a banker cloth of green verdour, and an alternative one of blue with white lilies.

Another coverlet was afterwards given, of green and blue with birds and lions.

iii. The cushions and pillows forming the next section appear to have been of a more ornate character, and were doubtless used to lay on the altars to carry the massbooks, and for such like purposes.

iv. The list of copes and vestments is a long one, occupying seven leaves of the inventory.

Of the copes, two red and one each of blue, yellow, and black seem to have been constantly in use, so were kept handy in the upper vestry. The rest were kept in the lower vestry, and evidently comprised several groups. Thus there were four pairs, of green, red, white, and blue respectively, of rich material and workmanship, which were only used occasionally, and had sheets to cover them. Another group of eight pairs

and nine single copes were of lesser value; some were "sore worne," and none had a covering sheet. A third group contained four copes "for childern", of red and white checkers, and two "for the boy that is the bushope," one of yellow and blue panes or stripes, the other of green "bawdkyn." The total number was thus thirty-eight, to which were subsequently added two of white "busteny," two of velvet, and one of blue damask. The copes are all described at some length, but in no case is the occasion of use specified or indicated, except those worn by the boy-bishop and his mates.

The vestments, like the copes, were divided into two groups: those in regular use, which were kept in the upper vestry; those only occasionally used, which were stored in the lower vestry.

The former included seven "complet" vestments or suits, *i.e.* a chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle, otherwise called, after those who wore them, "prest decon and subdecon," and probably the stoles, fanons, girdles, and apparels for the albes and amices belonging to them, since these are not otherwise mentioned in the inventory. The suits comprised a blue one "for the sondays," one of blue and yellow bawdkyn, and others of red, green, white, yellow, and black respectively. There were also eight single vestments, that is chasubles only, with apparently the amices, albes, stoles, fanons, and girdles worn with them. Two of them were black, two of green, of which one "serves for every day," two of white, one of blue, and one of red.

The vestments for occasional use included three principal groups. The first contained nine suits of rich workmanship and material. Of these one was of purple velvet, one of green cloth of tissue, and a third of red and green bawdkyn (apparently reckoned as green). There were also suits of red bawdkyn and red tissue respectively,

of blue velvet and black velvet, and of white bawdkyn and white satin. The single vestments were divided into two groups:

- (a) plain white vestments for each of the five altars, for use in Lent; and a blue vestment, which "servyth to bere the oil & cream at ester."
- (b) rich white vestments for the four minor altars and the use of St. Anne's gild; and a coloured vestment for each altar. The colours of the latter were: for the high altar, red and green; for the altars of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, blue; dun for the Trinity altar; and red for St. John Baptist's.

Besides the above there was a single vestment "of chekker worke velvet grene & yelow for the prest to sing in uppon sent nycholas day"; a suit "for my lord & ij of his bois," i.e. the boy bishop and his deacon and subdeacon, of checker work; and part of another vestment "for the bushope."

The additions to the inventory comprise six "single" vestments: one of ray, that is striped stuff, "of colour Red and blewe," another of blue, a third of white striped with red and green, a fourth of red, a fifth of green, and another of some striped yellow stuff.

A comparison of the copes and vestments in the original list shews that they were for the most part correlated, and that the subdivision arises from their having been kept separately for convenience owing to their difference of shape. The relation of the several copes, suits, and single vestments will be more clearly seen in the accompanying table, which does not include the Lenten vestments.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF COPES, SUITS, AND SINGLE
VESTMENTS.

IN THE UPPER VESTRY :

COPES.	SUITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.
Blue, with white flowers and gold leopards and coarse velvet orphreys.	Blue, with white flowers and gold leopards, and coarse red velvet orphreys "for the Sundays."	Blue chamlet with red orphreys.
[The blue bawdkyn cope of this suit was in the lower vestry].	Blue and yellow bawdkyn with white flowers, and coarse green velvet orphreys with gold crosses.	
Two red silk, with gold leopards and flowers, and green bawdkyn orphreys.	Red silk branched with white flowers, the orphreys blue silk with gold stars.	Red bawdkyn powdered with "bokes" (? bucks) with red orphreys.
Yellow, with flowers and gold stars, and blue worsted orphreys.	Yellow bawdkyn with blue silk orphreys.	
Old black velvet with gold flowers, with red satin orphreys and green fringe.	Black bawdkyn with gold squirrels, with red cloth of bawdkyn orphreys, "vergid" or edged with yellow ribbon.	Black, powdered with red roses.
	Also green bawdkyn with peacocks and red orphreys, and	Black worsted with blue orphreys powdered with white fjt.
	White bawdkyn with white birds and stripes of cloth of gold of Lucca.	Green cloth of bawdkyn, old, with stole and fanon of other colours, "and serves for every day."
		Old white bawdkyn, some worn, with red cloth orphreys.

IN THE LOWER VESTRY :

Two of green cloth of tissue, one with orphreys of gold embroidery of the story of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the other with apostles and prophets in orphreys.	Green cloth of tissue, with embroidered orphreys; on the chasuble, the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
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In the Lower Vestry (*continued*).

COPIES.	SUITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.
Two of red cloth of tissue, with apostles and prophets in orphreys.	Red tissue, with orphreys of embroidery.	White damask, with red orphreys. For St. Anne's Gild.
Two of white damask, with orphreys of apostles and virgins; one with M and A crowned, the other with Jhc and M crowned, all of gold.	Blue velvet powdered with flowers, and orphreys of embroidery work.	White satin, with red orphreys and a crowned M. For Our Lady's Altar.
Two of blue velvet, branched and powdered with gold flowers; one with apostles and virgins, the other with divers martyrs in the orphreys.	Purple velvet, with gold archangels and red velvet orphreys with images.	Blue worsted, with Jhc and M crowned, and coarse orphreys of images. For Our Lady's Altar.
Red damask with gold archangels, and the Passion in the orphreys.	Red and green bawdkyn with gold peacocks and orphreys of images.	Dun damask, with flowers and blue velvet orphreys. For the Trinity Altar.
Blue velvet with gold archangels and red velvet orphreys with martyrs.	White bawdkyn with gold lions, and red bawdkyn orphreys.	White bawdkyn with gold pheasants and dogs, and red orphreys. For St. Nicholas' Altar.
Red velvet and white satin paned.	White satin, with red satin orphreys with flowers.	White diaper, with red orphreys with flowers. For the Trinity Altar.
Dun velvet with gold flowers and red velvet orphreys.		White busteny with flowers, and red worsted orphreys. For St. John's Altar.
Green bawdkyn with gold peacocks and orphreys with apostles and virgins.		
Two of green satin with gold flowers and red satin orphreys.		
Two of white bawdkyn, with gold eagles and blue orphreys with gold eagles.		
Two of white diaper branched, with red satin orphreys with blue columbines.		
Two of white busteny and flowers, with red sendall orphreys, one with flowers, the other with T's.		

In the Lower Vestry (*continued*).

COPIES.	SCITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.
Green bawdkyn with gold lions and white orphreys. Sanguin worsted, with green worsted orphreys.	Red bawdkyn with small gold eagles, and orphreys with the Passion.	Red and green bawdkyn with gold lions and unicorns, and blue sarsnet orphreys. For the High Altar.
Two sere worn, of red bawdkyn with gold eagles, and green velvet orphreys with imagery.		Red satin with flowers, and green satin orphreys with flowers. For St. John's Altar.
Two of green bawdkyn with blue orphreys with gold pheasants and white flowers.		
Blue bawdkyn powdered with white, and green velvet orphreys with gold crowns and stars.	[The suit to which this cope belonged was in the upper vestry].	Blue sarsnet with plain green orphreys. For St. Nicholas' Altar.
Black velvet, sere worn, with blue velvet orphreys with gold fleurs-de-lys.	Black velvet, with blue velvet orphreys with gold fleurs-de-lys.	
Two black worsted with plain green velvet orphreys.		

FOR THE BOY-BISHOP.

Four copes "for children" red and white checky.	A complete vestment "for my lord & ij of his bois" of single sarcenet checker work.	A single vestment of checker work velvet, green and yellow, for the priest to sing in on St. Nicholas' day.
A cope for the boy-bishop paned yellow and blue.		The "uppermore parte" of a vestment for the bishop of steyned cloth "with amor."
A green bawdkyn cope "for the bushope."		

v. The church seems to have been unusually rich in plate, but owing to the weights not having been always filled in, it is impossible to estimate its sum or bullion value. Almost everything was of silver, usually enriched with gilding, and sometimes decorated with enamels.

As in the case of other ornaments, such plate as was constantly used was kept in the upper vestry, while the rest was carefully stowed away in chests and coffers in the lower chamber. The former included a silver censer "daily occupied," with its ship, a wooden cross plated with silver and with a latten socket, and four "pair chalis." This last term means a chalice and its paten, and not merely a couple of chalices.

The list of the remainder of the plate is headed by a description of a very splendid cross with a Crucifix and figures (probably on brackets) of Our Lady and St. John. The three uppermost arms terminated in medallions with the Evangelists in enamel, and the lowest with another containing the twelve Apostles. The field of the cross behind and before was of blue enamel, with white (*i.e.* silver) roses, but the rest of the metal work was gilt. At the bottom a short length with "vj wrethyng wormes" joined the cross to its foot, which was eight sided, with the four evangelists alternating with three figures of prophets; the eighth panel was filled with a sitting figure of St. Peter in silver on a ground of blue enamel, with kneeling figures before him of the donor, his wife, and child. As was often the case, so that it might be used in processions, this cross was furnished with a staff of equal splendour of silver and gilt, with four graven and enamelled bosses, and a top decorated with six figures of the apostles under canopies; the bosses or "knoppis" bore "his name that gave it," Richard Ballis. The cross and its foot together weighed 166 ounces.

The second cross had no side figures, but seems otherwise to have been an ornate one, decorated with enamels. It had a separate foot, and so could be set on a staff for processions at pleasure.

Only one pair of candlesticks is mentioned, of silver parcel-gilt with hexagonal knots, and weighing fifty-two ounces. They do not seem to have been in constant use, one being locked up, while the other stood out in the nether vestry "for buryyng℥."

The solitary pair of parcel-gilt cruets were engraved with the distinguishing letters V for *Vinum* and A for *Aqua*. One of them was left out with the candlestick "for cristenyng℥."

For the washing of the priest's hands at mass the church had two pair of silver basons. The principal pair, one of which had a spout under the rim like a lion's head, were parcel-gilt, and weighed forty-four ounces, and had in the bottoms figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, engraven in roses of pounced work. One bason was left out "w^t the cruet for cristenyng℥." The other pair may not have been so heavy, but were wholly gilt, and decorated with roses and blue enamel, with deformed beasts graven about. As usual, one bason had a lion's-head spout.

Of pixes, for keeping the Sacrament in, there were three. The first was a standing pix, *i.e.* with a foot, of silver gilt, pounced with trefoils and dragons' tongues.

The second pix, which was also a standing one, was formed of a "gripe is eg," or ostrich's egg mounted, probably in silver gilt, and surmounted by a Crucifix. Within the cover was an engraved print of St. Christopher, and on the foot a shield or "scutchyn of a Rampyng lion of ij colo's, gilt and blake." The third pix was a little parcel-gilt one with a cross on top.

Although the church possessed two other silver censers

than the one "daily occupied," they did not form a pair. One, which was all gilt, weighed forty-six ounces, and terminated in six round turrets, with "libbarddē hedde w^t spowttē" between to let out the smoke. Three of the turrets had tops or spires, and to the alternate ones the chains were fastened. The other censer, the gift of William Curtis, was of silver parcel-gilt "w^t iij libbarddē heede bleryng ther tounge."

For use with the censers was an incense ship with an ostrich feather standing in the midst; its weight was $8\frac{3}{4}$ ounces.

Of paxes there were two, seemingly a pair, of silver gilt, with the Crucifixion and St. Mary and St. John on a field of blue enamel. They were given by Thomas Alen.

The next item is an unusual one in a parish church: a silver-gilt image of Our Saviour "w^t hys woundē bledyng" with a little pix for the Sacrament in the breast, and a diadem upon the head. The figure was mounted on a foot, and had a cross, probably in the hand.

This image was, no doubt, used at Easter in the same way as that in the cathedral church of Durham, of which we have so full an account in *Rites*. It was the custom there on Good Friday, after the singing of the Passion and the creeping to the Cross, for the two monks who had held the cross during the service to carry it to the Easter Sepulchre,

and there lay it within the said Sepulchre, with great devotion, with another picture of Our Saviour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose, with great reverence, the most holy and blessed Sacrament of the Altar, senceinge it and prayenge unto it upon their knees, a great space, settinge two tapers lighted before it, which tapers did burne unto Easter day in the morninge, that it was taken forth.

There was in the Abbye Church of Duresme verye solemne

service uppon Easter Day, betweene three and four of the clocke in the morninge, in honour of the RESURRECTION, where two of the oldest Monkes of the Quire came to the Sepulchre, beinge sett upp upon Good Friday, after the Passion, all covered with red velvett and embrodered with gold, and then did sence it, either Monke with a pair of silver sencers sittinge on their knees before the Sepulchre. Then they both rising came to the Sepulchre, out of the which, with great devotion and reverence, they tooke a marvelous beautifull IMAGE OF OUR SAVIOUR, representing the Resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in the breast wherof was enclosed in bright christall the holy Sacrament of the Altar, through the whiche christall the Blessed Host was conspicuous to the beholders. Then after the elevation of the said picture, carryed by the said two Monkes uppon a faire velvett cushion, all embrodered, singinge the anthem of *Christus resurgens*, they brought it to the High Altar, settinge that on the midst therof, whereon it stood, the two Monkes kneelinge on their knees before the Altar, and scenceing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the foresaid anthem of *Christus resurgens*.

The image was then taken off the altar and carried in procession under a purple canopy round about the church,

the whole quire waitinge uppon it with goodly torches and great store of other lights, all singinge, rejoyceinge, and praising God most devoutly, till they came to the High Altar againe, wheron they did place the said image there to remaine untill the Ascension Day.¹

To return to the inventory. This includes a holy water "stick" with three gilt wreaths, weighing four ounces, but makes no mention among the original entries of the bucket or vessel with which it was used.

The silver-gilt "pixe" surmounted by the Crucifix, etc. and "iiij red roses a bought the glase on boith sidē," was evidently a monstrance for carrying the Sacrament

¹ *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society 15), 10, 11.

in on Corpus Christi Day. It was the gift of John of Shottesham, and weighed twenty-one ounces.

The silver parcel-gilt chrismatory "w^t iij angelles beryng it up at ich corner . . . ther wing^e a brode" would appear to have been of triangular or trefoil shape, to hold the three little vessels of *chrisma*, *oleum sanctum*, and *oleum infirmorum*.

The relics belonging to the church were kept in two silver-gilt pixes of the gift of Richard Ballis, alderman, "whos name is written in ther fette." One had a cross of glass or crystal enclosing another of "tymber," and four pearls; the other was ornamented with a Crucifix, etc.

Besides the chalices already enumerated, eight others are specified, five being "all gilte" and three parcel-gilt. As before, each chalice and paten is described as a "pair." Like several existing examples, two of the chalices had texts engraved round the bowl, and three bore the donor's name. One of the patens was also similarly inscribed.

The added entries to the list of plate are fifteen in number. Two are written on the blank page (f. 15b) opposite the beginning of the list, and describe an enamelled pair of tablets belonging to Jesus mass, and a round *Agnus Dei* "w^t holy waxe."¹ The other entries are added at the end of the list, and include two more chalices and patens, four pixes, another pair of basons, four paxes, a holy water stoup and stick, a verge, a pair of cruets, and a "relay" in the form of an ewer parcel-gilt.

¹ This was one of the cakes or medallions made of wax mixed with balsam and cream, stamped with the *Agnus Dei*, and blessed by the Pope on Easter Even. They were distributed to the faithful on Low Sunday to be kept as relics. See Du Cange, s.v. *Agnus Dei*.

Several of these items deserve more than a passing notice. The gilt pix "for the sacrament beryng" was a monstrance with two angels supporting the glass or crystal barrel, and a figure of "Jhc in his Sepulchre," otherwise Our Lord's Pity, between them; above the barrel were images of Our Lady and St. Peter and St. Paul, and under a "pavilion" on top an image of the Trinity. The pix for St. Peter's chain was probably a reliquary. The pair of basons were evidently things of beauty, with enamelled figures of saints set within roses *en-soleil*; they were perhaps used for collecting offerings in. The "verger of silver," surmounted by the cross keys and mitre of St. Peter, is an ornament not often found in a medieval parish church.

vi. Under the head of "Corporas" are enumerated sixteen corporas cases, nearly all of which are described as containing a corporas or "a cloith." Six of them were "for every day," and kept in the upper vestry with the chalices with which they were used; and four of them were "old." Of the better ones, three were red, two green, one blue, and another red and black. Three of the old corporas cases were embroidered, in one instance with the Wheel of Fortune, and the fourth was of black velvet. An added corporas case was also black.

The one canopy, for bearing over the Blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christi Day, was of red damask, embroidered with a gold chalice in the midst, and fringed with white, green, and red silk. When in use it was stretched over a frame of timber, with four staves stained red to carry it by.

The list of pix cloths is mostly made up of pieces of sarcenet of different sizes "for the covering of the pixe where the sacrament is." Three were of red, two of black, one of white, "sore worne," two others were of yellow and green respectively, and there was a fourth

red piece "sore worn." Only one pix cloth proper is mentioned, a good one over a yard square of red sarcenet, bound with yellow ribbon, with red and gold tassels at the corners. On the next page three additional examples are given: one a red sarcenet pix cloth bound with gold, with red and gold "knoppes;" a piece of red silk; and "j reed silke hangyng over the heigh auter over the pyxt daly."

vii. The original list enumerates three pairs of curtains, which were probably ridels or costers for altars. Two pair were green, and the third of blue and white "paned." As the dimensions, which are given, vary both as to length and breadth, the curtains perhaps belonged to different altars. The additions include (i) a pair of white curtains of stained cloth, with crowns of thorns and the Holy Name written in them in red, which served for Lent "to hang in the Quere;" and (ii) a pair of green sarcenet, painted with gold flowers and the Holy Name crowned, which also served "to hang in the quere."

viii. Under the title of "Hangyngē & Aulter cloithis for all aulters" are included what are now usually called frontals and dorsals. In this inventory the frontal is termed "a nether part" and the dorsal "an upper part," and the two together usually form a "hanging." The term "frontell" is here applied to the narrow strip of stuff sewn as an apparel on to the front edge of one of the linen altar cloths, and sometimes called a frontlet. Nearly every one of those enumerated had an altar cloth "sowid un to it." Many of the "nether parts" also had linen altar cloths sewn on to them, no doubt to keep them in place. One hanging belonging to the high altar also included the usual set of "iij towellis, ij playn & one diapare," which are expressly described as "longyng only to the same and not to the napry."

The list enumerates about forty items. From them we learn that each of the five altars had a complete hanging of green sarcenet "w^t ymages & Jhc & sterres gilte"; another of stained work with vines and clusters "and other ymagery," for Lent; a third of black; and a fourth of white. The black hanging for the high altar was of bawdkyn stained with leopards' heads of gold, and had a "frontell" of black velvet with a silk fringe, "& ij grene freng^e runnyng thorow ought the frontell." The other four altars had between them six cloths of black sarcenet and two of linen cloth "steyned blake." The white hanging for the high altar was of bawdkyn, worked with gold roses and green leaves in the upper part, and gold lions in the nether part; it had also a frontal of the same material. Those for the other altars were embroidered, that for Our Lady's altar with images of St. Anne and Our Lady, that for St. Nicholas' altar with the Ascension, that for St. John's altar with the Salutation of Our Lady, and that for the Trinity altar with the Coronation of Our Lady above and St. Anne below. The high altar seems to have had a second white hanging, made up of an upper part of sarcenet with the Five Joys of Our Lady and other imagery "steyned in gold," and a nether part of stained cloth with yellow flowers. It was also furnished with four other nether parts: one of blue tissue fringed with white, green, red, and yellow silk; a second of stained cloth with gold ships and ostrich feathers, one white, the other green, with a velvet frontal to match; a third of black bawdkyn, powdered with gold and blue lions and squirrels, with a frontal to the same; and a fourth of red bawdkyn, powdered with gold, with a frontal with flowers of broidery work. As the two last were kept in the upper vestry they were probably those most used; the red for ordinary occasions, the black for requiem masses.

The altar of Our Lady also possessed: (i.) a cloth steyned with the Five Joys; (ii.) a nether cloth of green bawdkyn, with a frontal; (iii.) a frontal of coarse cloth of tissue, fringed with red, green, and white silk; (iv.) a stained cloth of red, with the Coronation of Our Lady, for the upper part; and (v.) a stained cloth of blue with divers saints worked in gold, and in the frontal the twelve Apostles' heads.

The altar of St. Nicholas had also (i.) a nether cloth and frontal of green bawdkyn with white lilies, and another frontal of the same work; and (ii.) a white stained cloth with the Coronation of Our Lady and "other seyntt^e marters."

St. John's altar likewise had (i.) a nether cloth of green bawdkyn with images of St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist, and (ii.) a hanging for above and beneath of green sarcenet with roses; and (iii.) a frontal of blue velvet.

The Trinity altar had (i.) a stained hanging of red flourished with white flowers, with a figure of Our Lord in the upper part, and Our Lady below; also (ii.) a stained cloth with the Trinity in the midst.

The preponderance of green, white, and black in these altar hangings is noteworthy, as is the apparent scarcity of red and blue, and absence of yellow. The colour of the Lent stuff is not stated; it was probably, as usual, white, like the vestments.

The list also includes several other items, such as (i.) two stained little cloths with lambs, for the shrine on Palm Sunday; (ii.) a cloth of green and blue with birds and lions to lay before the high altar; and (iii.) a set of stained cloths for the Easter Sepulchre, of divers colours and imagery with crowns of gold. Only one item has been added, "a vernacle off [*word omitted*] made in lawnde & y^e passion off Cryst w^t petyr & powle."

ix. Mitres and crosiers, when found in the inventory

of a parish church, may usually be regarded as part of the ornaments of the boy-bishop. The list under notice contains four mitres. The first of them was of unusually rich work, besides being garnished with jewels and enamels, and it is difficult to believe that it was used in a mere play. The others were of simpler character, and those of painted leather and silvered parchment were probably used in rehearsals. The crosier head of gilt timber, with an image of St. Nicholas, was certainly for the boy-bishop; to it belonged a towel of diaper 3½ yards in length, which is somewhat excessive if it were to hang on the staff.

x. The banners enumerated under this section are nine in number. The first was evidently the most noteworthy, and was painted with incidents from the life of St. Peter, and with the figures of the donor and his wife. The second bore a similar series of pictures of the life of St. John Baptist and figures of St. Margaret, St. James, and St. William of Norwich "in pendans peynted." The third bore an image of St. Anne, and the fourth the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The next two were cross banners for hanging to the cross in processions at Easter: one was of green sarcenet, with a gilt figure of St. Peter enthroned; the other was of the same material, and emblazoned with the arms of England. The two old white banners that follow were evidently a pair, the one having the image of St. Peter, the other that of St. Paul. The last item is an interesting one: two banner clothes (probably white) painted with drops of blood, the Passion of Christ's arms, and green wreaths, which served for Passion Sunday, etc. For use with the banners were five staves: two of green, one of red, and two other white, probably for the banners last described, with red drops and silvered spear heads.

xi. The items headed "Nappery" occupy five pages of the inventory, but the original list covers three pages only.

The earlier items are either "towellys" or "aulter cloiths." The length of many of the former, $7\frac{3}{4}$, $8\frac{3}{4}$, 9, $10\frac{1}{4}$, and 13 yards, indicates that they were houselling cloths held in front of the communicants when receiving the Sacrament; their material was usually diaper, and their width three-quarters of a yard. So many of them had "an oliot hole in the one end" as to suggest that one extremity was fixed to a hook, and the other held by the clerk. The smaller "towellys" were probably altar cloths.

The altar cloths so specified varied in length from 2 to 6 yards, and their usual width was $1\frac{1}{4}$ yard. The ten largest have an average length of five yards. Nearly all were of diaper, but a few are described as "playn." In some cases an altar cloth bore a special mark, such as "a Peter Key," "an hedles crose of blew," or "a key of wight thred." A few of the towels also bore marks, such as "a triangle of rede silke," or "a blew thred sown in a corner." Two of the towels were assigned to special uses. One, of "Rayns," $3\frac{3}{4}$ yards long and nearly half a yard broad, was garnished about the edges with red silk and green, and at each end with birds of red silk and gold; "it servith to bere the oil and creme at ester." The other was a plain "towelly" of about the same size as the other, and "sent peter is cheyn is wrapid in it." St. Peter's chain, though not described in the inventory, was probably one of the relics, and the additions to the plate include a silver-gilt pix for it. One other article other than a towelly or altar cloth is included among the napery, "a kercher cloith of fyn holon of as long as broad a yard and di quarter to see it shuld be a corporas."

The additions to the original list include towels and altar cloths, of like sizes and materials to the other lot. One of the towels is described as given "ffor a howselyn Towell w^t a Tolye," and another, which was five yards long, as "longyng to J^hc. Messe." The list also includes a napkin of diaper a yard long "ffor a wypyng towell to the hey Awter," and four other "wypyng Napkyns to leye oñ the awters."

At the end is a statement of the total number of altar cloths and towels, and whether diaper or plain, amounting to "liij pesys" in all. Three more diaper altar cloths, however, seem to have been added since this table was made.

xii. The original inventory concludes with a miscellaneous lot of ornaments grouped under the head of "Lumber tymber." The list is a curious one:

1. Six white paxes with green crosses painted, serving for Lent;
2. A trestle with steps;
3. Seven small candlesticks silvered and gilt for Christmas Day;
4. Six wicker-work cases for chalices;
5. A thing called Judas with prickets for candles upon "tenable days";
6. A green cross with the four Evangelists gilt for Easter morrow in the Resurrection;
7. A frame like a shrine for the Sacrament on Palm Sunday; .
8. Three palms for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon on Palm Sunday; and
9. Two superaltars of marble framed in timber, the one whole, the other broken.

The use of painted wooden paxes during Lent, instead of more ornate ones of metal, is interesting, and is quite in accord with the white, *i.e.* uncoloured, vestments and altar furniture so universal in this country at that season.

The trestle with steps was no doubt useful in cleaning or decking the church or attending to ornaments that could not be reached from the floor.

The little candlesticks used on Christmas Day were probably for illuminating some part of the church.

Cases of wicker or leather were very usual to keep pieces of plate in.

The Judas was the triangular candlestick used to put candles on during the office of *Tenebræ* on the "tenable days," that is, the last three days of Holy Week.

The green cross with the Evangelists was apparently that put away with the pix in the Sepulchre until Easter morning.

The shrine for the Sacrament on Palm Sunday was borne in the procession, first to the churchyard cross, and thence back to the church, to typify our Lord's entry into Jerusalem.

The palms for the three ministers to bear in the Palm Sunday procession can hardly have been dried palm branches; for the use of such things in preference to the earliest green stuff would have been as absurd then as now. They were more likely carved wooden things, perhaps gilt.¹

Superaltars, or small portable altar slabs, were often used on altars that had not been consecrated; they were also used for masses in oratories in private houses. Being themselves hallowed, they were often given to or treasured up in churches, and sometimes regarded as relics.

It will be noticed that the inventory makes no mention of any latten or brass ornaments. Perhaps the list of these began the inventory, and has been lost with the heading, but in that case it is odd that no casual reference to them should occur elsewhere in the list.

¹ I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P.S.A., for this suggestion.

We have now to consider the special feature of the inventory under notice: the information it gives as to the arrangement of the vestries, and how the different sets of ornaments were disposed in them.

It has already been noted that the vestries are contained in a three-storied building attached to and beyond the east end of the chancel. This building is of good construction and measures about 34 feet externally from north to south, with a projection of some 15 feet.

The lowest story is entered from the churchyard by a doorway in the north end, and was probably built as a tool-house for the sexton. It has a plain four-centred barrel vault, and a series of square-headed lights on the east; a modern opening has been forced through the south wall.

The middle story is lighted by three two-light square-headed windows, also in the east wall, all heavily grated.

Above them are the windows of the uppermost story, a range of five two-light uncusped openings, deeply recessed, rising from an embattled string. Between and beyond these are six semi-circular pilasters, carrying a roll moulding over the windows, with an embattled cresting above.

The north end is faced with ashlar, but the south end is of rubble only, and from the way in which it projects beyond the line of the chancel wall, the whole structure seems to have been planned to extend further in the same direction, perhaps as lodgings for the vicar or chantry priests.

The upper vestry is on the same level as the presbytery floor, which is itself nine steps above the nave, and is entered by two doorways, right and left of the high altar. Both the doors are old, but have been "restored"; the southern retains its old handle and lock. The vestry is 29 feet 4 inches in length, and 12 feet 9 inches in breadth, but as will be seen from the accompanying diagram its

otherwise simple plan has been interfered with, firstly by the cutting off of its western angles by stair turrets to the roofs, and secondly by the building being set a little to the south of the axis of the church. A deep recess has consequently been formed in the south end. The south wall of this recess contains, towards the east, a canopied drain. West of this is a pointed niche, 27 inches above the floor, $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet high, and about 18 inches square in plan, with an ascending flue or chimney in the head. It was no doubt used for lighting charcoal for the censers and for baking the obleys or wafers used at mass. The roof of the vestry, which is original, is nearly flat, with four-centered rafters. There are no marks of any fittings, and the walls are covered with modern plaster. The tables and other furniture are all of recent date. The manuscripts, etc. now in the table cases have been acquired since the making of the inventory. In the north end of the vestry is a modern staircase, about 4 feet wide, leading down to the lower chamber.

Before describing the "lower," "nether," or "low vestre," as it is severally called, it will be more convenient to discuss the old arrangements of the "upper" or "high vestre."

The references to its contents in the inventory are as follows :

- (i.) "on the lift hand of the dore at the first entre (= entering) one the nether shelve "were five antiphoners and two legends, lettered A to G. A foot note adds that all these books lie "uppon the lowest shelve."
- (ii.) "uppon the over shelve" were ten other books lettered H to R; and
- (iii.) "uppon a litell shelve betweñ the overmoñ shelve & the nether more shelve," still "in the high vestre on the lefte hande of the entre" stood twelve more books lettered A to M.

These entries clearly refer to a book case or press placed immediately to the left or north of the doorway against the west wall.

It will be noticed that only one door is mentioned, and as may be seen from the plan, this must have been the southernmost, since the turret door to the north of the other leaves no room for a press there.

The press was raised a little from the floor, for a mass-book belonging to Cosyn's chantry at Our Lady's altar is described as "lyyng in the cofer longyng to the chawntre wich is the farthest under the antiphonares." What other coffers lay under the book case does not appear.

The next piece of furniture mentioned is an aumbry or press that stood in the recess at the south end, and against its west wall. The entries referring to it are as follows:

- (iv.) four palls are described as "lyyng in the lowest awmbery next the chymney," and "in the upper vestre." A fifth pall, added later, was also "lying in the lowest almerly next the schemny."
- (v.) "in the ambre on the right hand of the entre bi the chymney" were four grayles.
- (vi.) "in the third Awmbery by the greilles" lay nine processionars lettered A to I.
- (vii.) "in the upper Awmbry next un to the chymney in upper vestre" lay the silver censer that was "daily occupied," with its ship, a silver plated cross, and four chalices and patens. There also lay "in the awnbry in the high vestre. w^t chales" six corporases and their cases "for every day."

This press or set of aumbries evidently contained four lockers, one above the other. In the uppermost was the plate, in the second were the grails, in the third the processionars, and in the fourth or lowest the palls.

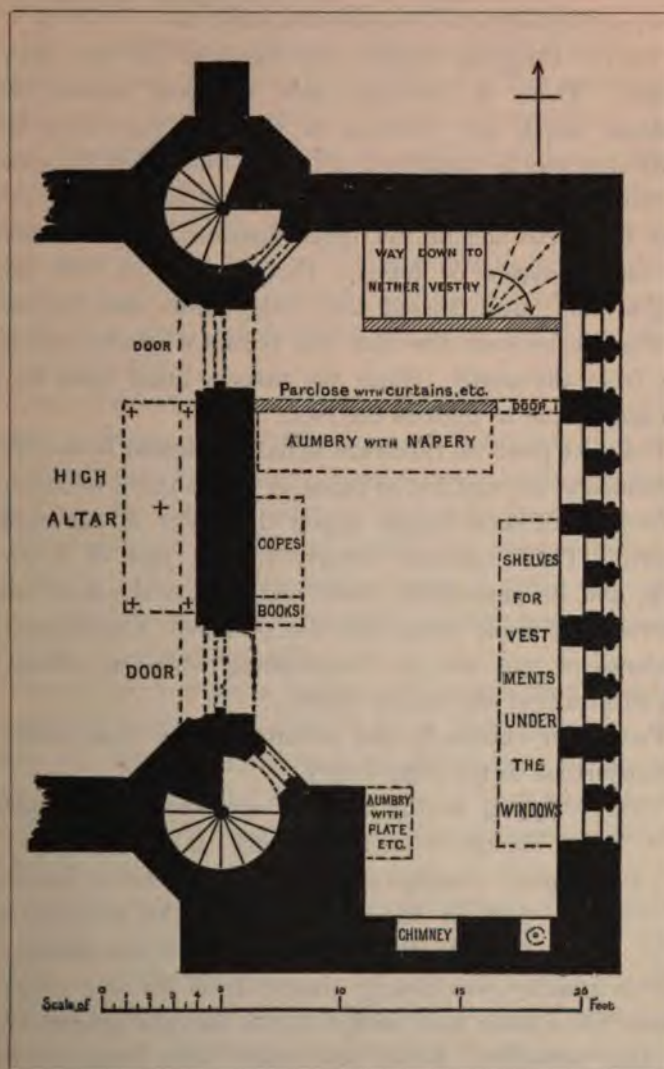


Diagram shewing the plan and suggested ancient arrangements of the Upper or High Vestry.

We next find a great carpet to lay before the high altar, and sundry other carpets described as

(viii.) "hangyng uppon the parclose in the upper vestre." There is nothing now to show where this parclose stood, but looking to the fact that only the south doorway is mentioned, it is very likely that the other served merely as the way to the nether vestry, and that the north end of the upper chamber was partitioned off as a passage or lobby. The parclose in that case might well have crossed the vestry from east to west on the line between the first and second windows, reckoning from the north. Since the carpets hung upon it, it did not extend as high as the roof.¹

The next piece of furniture is only indicated in the note appended to the first list of copes, of which there were five:

(ix.) "All these hange uppon the perk^e in the upper vestre." These "perkes" clearly formed part of a cope rack, and its most likely place was against the west wall, between the book press and the parclose. Confirmatory evidence of this will be forthcoming when we consider the furniture of the nether vestry.

Two other entries in the inventory shew that another aumbry stood in the high vestry:

(x.) "lyyng in the awmbry w^t napre in the upper vestre" were two pillows; it is also said of

(xi.) seven towellys and five altar cloths forming part of the "Nappery": "All thes lye in the awmbry of napry in the upper vestre."

This aumbry was clearly distinct from the one noticed above, for a later note, added in the margin against two of the "towellys," states that they were lying in the aumbry by the chimney.

¹ Mr. Micklethwaite thinks there was a door through it to facilitate access from one vestry to the other. If so, it was probably where suggested in the plan.

There is now standing in the nether vestry an interesting piece of medieval furniture, which may have served as the "awmbry of napry." It is made of oak, and measures 9 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and 2 feet 6 inches in depth and 2 feet 9 inches in height. It is divided into three compartments, of which the middle has double doors and the end ones single doors. The doors have lost their locks, but retain their iron handles and continuous strap-work hinges. The top is nicely moulded along the edges. The cupboards are sub-divided into two shelves, and there would have been ample room in them for the articles above described.

Since there is no mention of anything in the nether vestry corresponding to this piece of furniture, it is fair to assume that it has been brought down from the upper chamber. Its position there is limited by its length, and it therefore most likely stood against the parclose towards the north. The only alternative place is under the windows, but this place would appear to have been filled by shelving for the vestments.

The list of vestments begins with seven suits, each of a different colour, and headed by a blue suit "for the sondays." These are followed by eight single vestments, including a green one "for every day." They were, therefore, what were in common use. The suits are described as lying

(xii.) "uppon the shelve w^t the script^r *Vestymen^{tt}l^e complet* in the upper vestre"; and the others

(xiii.) "liyth uppon the shelve in the script^r of *single of westment^e* in the upper vestre."

By a simple process of exhaustion it will be seen from the plan that two such shelves would be most conveniently placed beneath the windows, and as a similar arrangement existed below, it most likely did here also.

By the disposal of the several pieces of furniture in the way that has been suggested, the floor space was encroached upon as little as possible, leaving ample room for the ministers to vest themselves, and the clerk and sexton to attend to their duties.

The lower or nether vestry is reached, as already stated, by a wooden stair leading down from the upper chamber. The door at the foot of the stair is ancient, and retains its handle and one of its old locks.

The nether vestry is of similar plan to the upper, but the western angles are further encroached upon. It is 8 feet 3 inches in height to its flat rafter roof, which of course carries the floor of the chamber above. The walls have been newly plastered, and with one exception, there are no remains or traces of any ancient fittings. For the notices and positions of these we must refer to the inventory.

The greatest amount of space in the nether vestry must have been taken up by the copes that were kept there. In the original list these numbered thirty-one, and were hung on a series of twenty "perkes" or "staifes," arranged in a press, with a "selyng" over them. This press stood on the west side, where an interesting fragment remains to indicate its position and extent. Close up to the ceiling and against the wall is a wooden beam 14 feet long, 11 inches deep, and 9 inches wide, with a number of circular holes, each $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, in its under side. The holes are eighteen in number, and cover a distance of 7 feet 9 inches from centre to centre. They are arranged in two series: a first of seven holes, 8 inches apart from centre to centre; and a second of eleven holes, bored at intervals of 4 inches only. Beyond the latter is a length of 5 feet of beam without holes. These holes were evidently for the insertion of a series of vertical timbers, to which were attached projecting arms, "perkes," or

"staifes," to hang the copes on.¹ They, no doubt, fitted into a corresponding series of holes in a sill fixed to the floor, and were capable of being turned in a small arc to enable the copes to be easily removed or replaced. Since the inventory mentions twenty staves, and there are only eighteen holes, there must have been another perch at either end attached to the uprights that carried the "selyng" over the copes. This "selyng" was upheld by posts, and not fixed to the roof, where there are no marks of it, for the palms entered among the lumber timber are described as "lyyng uppon the selyng over the copis in the low vestre." The wider series of perches held but one cope apiece of the richer sort, and each covered with a sheet; the narrower series carried one, two, three, and even four copes apiece, all unsheeted.

Under the copes were kept the frame for the canopy, the four staves by which it was borne, and the five banner staves.

The little copes worn by the boy bishop and his mates were not hung with the others, but lay, together with their vestments, upon "the over shelve next the wyndows."

Upon the "ij shelve bi the wyndows" were stowed the white vestments for Lent and the sepulchre cloths, and upon "the iij shelve" lay the single vestments belonging to the several altars.

Three other suits of vestments are described as lying upon "the tabull by the wyndows in the lower vestre."

These shelves and the table probably formed one piece of furniture, standing in front of and extending right and left of the middle window.

The remainder of the vestments are described as "uppon the lower pres behynd the dore on the right hand

¹ The vertical timbers of the cope press in the west end of the vestry of the abbey church of Westminster remained until a few years ago.

at the first entre," and "uppon the myddell prese," and one of the better hangings lay "uppon the uppermor shelve behynd the dore."

Since the door opens to the right, anything behind it at the first entering must have stood in the north end of the vestry, and here, partly under the stairs, was the vestment press. On its third or uppermore shelf were also kept the canopy and the banner cloths, and over it the Easter morning cross and the frame of the Palm Sunday shrine. A stained cloth belonging to Our Lady's altar is described as lying "wrappid uppon a staife on the third prese be hynde the dore."

After the copes and vestments, room had to be found for the various hangings and altar cloths. Some lay "uppon the never [= nether] shelve in the further end next the chest w^t J"; others were upon "the uppermore shelve in the fu^r end on the side where the copis hange"; a third series "uppon the third shelve in the vestre beneath next the copis"; and a fourth group "uppon the ij shelve next the copis."

These four shelves probably formed one press, which stood immediately to the south of the copes, against the oblique length of wall surface there.

Under one or other of the sets of shelves were stowed the Judas, the chalice cases, and other gear, and "bi the uppermore shelf" of one of the presses, the Lenten paxes did "hange on a streyng."

The recess at the south end of the vestry contained the great jewel chest, described as the "chest w^t J," the initial of *Jocalia* or *Jewels*. Its place is fixed by a note appended to the description of the great cross: "and this crose stondyth in a box made ther for in the further corner in the lowe vestre bi the Juell cheste." The cross-staff stood "in the corner next the crose."

The "chest w^t J" contained one each of the parcel-gilt

candlesticks, cruets, and basons, two other basons, three pixes, two censers and a ship, a holywater stick, a crismatory, and eight chalices and patens. It was also sufficiently large to hold a number of smaller boxes containing special ornaments. Thus the two paxes lay "in the boxe of p. [for *Pax*] w^t in the chest of J." The image of Our Saviour was kept "in the boxe w^t S. [for *Saviour*] w^t in the chest of J." John of Shottesham's "pixe" or monstrance lay "in the boxe of M. [for *Monstrance*] w^t in the chest of J," and the pixes with the relics "in a grene cofer w^t R. [for *Relics*] w^t in the cheste of J."

There seems to have been another chest "in the nether vestre w^t the letter P written upon hym" containing Sir Thomas Spicer's massbook and another, and the various "qwyshyns & pillows," and "in a boxe framed for it uppon the chest w^t P." was the second best cross. The initial perhaps stands for *Pillows*.

A third chest, described as a "litell cofer w^t C.," contained the corporases and their cases, and a fourth "the litell cofer w^t x." contained the "curtens and clothis of silke" for the pix "wrapped in a napkyn."

A fifth chest "w^t N." contained the greater part of the "Nappery," whence its distinguishing letter, and also the four mitres and crosier head for the boy bishop.

To recapitulate, the low vestry contained the following pieces of furniture:

- (i.) the perches for the copes, against the west wall.
- (ii.) the table and shelves for vestments, under the windows.
- (iii.) the vestment press, at the north end behind the door.
- (iv.) the press for altar cloths, to the left of the copes.
- (v.) the cross box, and the chests severally marked J, P, C, X, & N, in the recess at the south end.

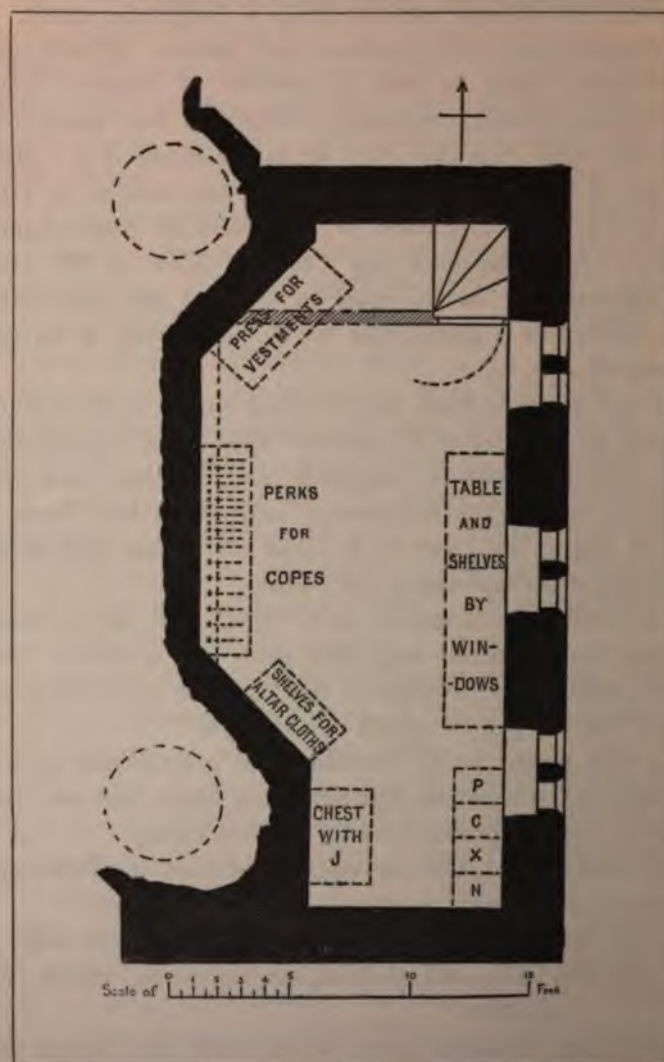


Diagram showing the plan and suggested ancient arrangements
of the Nether or Lower Vestry.

The accompanying diagram shows the possible arrangement of the lower vestry.

The keeping in it of so many valuables explains the heavy grating of the vestry windows.

The inventory also mentions four other chests which were not in the vestry. One stood "on the right hand in the chappell of o^r lady w^t this lettre M." [for *Mary*], and contained two massbooks. The other three were severally in the chapels of St. John, the Trinity, and St. Nicholas, and were marked accordingly "J," "T," and "N." As each contained only the massbooks used in the chapel, they could not have been of any size.

The text of the inventory is as follows:

Fol. 2a]. Antiphenares w ^t dyv'se other bo[kes].	
ffirst in the place accustomed on the lift hand of the	
dore at the first entre · one the nether shelve	
one Antiphenar ⁹ of the large volume garnished	
w ^t blew silk and bottons of the same whos iij	A
leife begynnyth (<i>Dominica prima adventus</i>) of	
s' Rob ^t Cutler ats Sexten ¹ bryngyng in to the	
church, &c. and of s' Willm bilhm is gifte. ²	
Itm. an Antipenar ⁹ of a lese volume then the first	
one the same shelve whose iij leife begynnyth	
(<i>dominica prima adventus</i>) garnished w ^t blew	B
silke & bottons of the same & w ^t claspis of latten.	

¹ Sir Robert Cutler alias Sexton was appointed chantry priest of Cosyn's chantry in 1490.—Blomefield, iv. 202.

² Sir William Bilham or Byllern was appointed chantry priest at the altar of Our Lady in 1487 (Blomefield, iv. 205). His successor was appointed in 1513. Blomefield says (p. 214): "1498. Will. Byllern, priest, gave a whole set of vestments of blue velvet to the two copes, of 12*l.* value, and his corporas case of blue cloth of gold tissue, with the *corporas* therein ready hallowed, and an *antiphonary* of 12 marks, and many other books, and a cross."

- Itm. an Antiphenar⁹ of the same volume whos iij }
 leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* w^t } ⑥
 claspis of latten.
- Itm. an other antiphener of the same volume whos }
 ij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* } ②
 w^t the salutacion of o^r lady in the first letter }
 w^t claspis of silver.
- Itm. an other antiphenar⁹ of a lesser volume whos }
 begynnyng is *Dominica prima adventus* w^t } ⑥
 the salutacion ut sup^{ra} in the iij leife // w^t claspis }
 of silver.
- Itm. a legient of the last antiphenar⁹ is volume whos }
 ij leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* } ff
 w^t a smalle · D. of beise¹ claspid w^t latten.
- Itm. a legient of a lesser volume sumewhat whos iij }
 leife begynnyth *In festo sancti andree apostoli* } ⑥
 claspid w^t latten.
- [Added in a second hand: It. a antiphenar of conyers yift].

All thes bokke⁹ leith uppon the lowest shelve
 in the vestre.

Fol. 2b].

- Itm. a legient of the meane volume whos iij leife }
 begynnyth *visio Isaie*. } ③
- Itm. an antiphenar⁹ of the smale volume wos ij leife }
 begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* · old. } ①
- Itm. an Antiphenar⁹ old. of the smale volume whos ij }
 leife begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus*. } ③
- Itm. a boke for the Rectores chori whos ij leife }
 begynnyth *universi*. } ②
- Itm. a Mase boke of the gift of Isabell Atkyns whos }
 iij leife begynnyth w^t the kalender claspis of } ③
 latten & of the smale volume.

¹ Beise = bice, a blue pigment obtained from smalt.

- Itm. an old antiphenar⁹ of the leist volume whos ij }
 leife begynnyth *benedictus Dominus Deus* clasped } N
 w^t latten.
- Itm. a boke for the orgons of the meduſt volume whos }
 iiij leife begynnyth *Ecce dies veniunt*, claspid w^t } ⑤
 latten.
- Itm. a book called vitetory bokke w^t the Impnes. }
 clasped w^t latten & of the mean volume } ③
- Itm. a booke called the Ordynale · whos ij leife }
 begynnyth *Dominica prima adventus* of the } ②
 mean volume/claspid w^t latten.
- Itm. a priksong booke whos iiij leife begynnyth *Salve* }
fasta dies claspid w^t latten. } ④

All thes liyth uppon the ov⁹ shelve in the high
 vestre.

Fol. 3a].

- Itm. a litle graiff whos first leife begynnyth w^t the }
 kalender & 3vyth for Childern. } ②
- Itm. a pistill bokke whos secunde leife begynnyth }
fratres scientes. } ③
- Itm. a gospelary · whos iiij leife begynnyth *In illo* }
tempore Cum appropinquasset · Jhc · claspid w^t } ④
 latten.
- Itm. a Manuell whos iiij leife begynnyth *omnibus* }
Dominicis diebus per annum claspid w^t latten. } ⑤
- Itm. a Collector whos ij leife begynnyth *Dominica* }
prima adventus claspid w^t latten. } ⑥
- seret. Itm. an old psalter w^t other thyng⁹ · whos } [⑤ struck
 first leife begynnyth *Incipit historia*. } out] ⑦
- Itm. an old salter whos first leife begynnyth w^t } [④ struck
 the office of the sexten. } out] ⑧
- seret in Itm. an old psalter whos j leife begynneth *Dormiente* }
 in, but }
 k out]. *cum patribus suis* claspid w^t latten. } ⑨

- Itm. an old psalter · whos ij leife begynnyth w^t a
kalender claspid w^t latten. } **I**
- Caret.* Itm. an old portose sore worne clasped w^t latten. } **II**
- Caret.* Item. an old mase booke whos ij leife begynnyth
ad te levavi claspid w^t latten. } **III**
- Itm. a psalter whos [ij altered into] ij leife begynnyth
psalterium ecclesie sancti petri ex dono Magistri
*Middeltan.*¹ s' Thomas love² have it. } **III**

All thes book^l · stonde uppon a litell shelve betweñ
the overmoñ shelve & the nether more shelve in
the high vestre on the lifte hand of the entre.

Fol. 3b].

Grailles.

- Itm. a graitt of the large volume of the gifte of Dame
Katerine ffelbrige³ in whos ij leife stondeth her helme
w^t her ames [*sic*].
- Itm. an other of the same volume & same facione claspid
w^t latten.
- Itm. a graitt of a lese volume of the gifte of John
Latymer⁴ whos first leife begynnyth *m^a quod anno*
domini m ccc^o octogesimo octavo.
- Itm. an other of the same mañ is gifte John Latimer of the
same volume whos first leife *anno domini millesimo*
ccc nonagesimo primo clasped w^t latten.

All thes fowr book^l liyth in the ambre on the right
hand of the entre bi the chymney.

¹ Roger de Middleton was rector from 1361 to 1374.

² Sir Thomas Love was parish chaplain, or *clericus parochialis*, as he was described on his epitaph in the Chapel in the Fields, where he was buried in 1513.—Blomefield, iv. 180, 186.

³ Probably Katherine (Mallory), widow of Sir Simon Felbrigge, K.G., who died in 1443. Dame Margery died in 1459.

⁴ John Latimer was bailiff of Norwich in 1382 and 1388, and Burgess in Parliament anno 45 Edw. III. and 4 Ric. II.

Fol. 4a]. Pcessionares.

- | | | |
|--|---|----|
| Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of John Colleweny
whos iij leife begynnyth w ^t a lettre of gold
<i>omnibus dominicis per annum</i> & claspid w ^t latten. | } | a |
| Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of s' Willm Brewen ¹
prest whos iiij leife begynnyth <i>Asperges me.</i> | } | b |
| Itm. a pcessionary whos Rubrish except the first leife
is writen w ^t blake ynke. | } | c |
| Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of Willm Yxworth ²
whos [fir struck out] ij leife begynnyth <i>Ordo ad</i>
<i>processionem hoc modo fiat</i> w ^t claspis latten. | } | d |
| Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of s' Willm Brewen ³ pst
whos iij leife begynnyth w ^t a lett ^r of gold
<i>omnibus dominicis per annum.</i> | } | e |
| Itm. a pcessionary of the gifte of Willm Gilberd
Draper ³ whos iij leife begynnyth w ^t a lett ^r in
beise <i>omnibus dominicis per annum.</i> | } | ff |
| Itm. a pcessionary whos iij leife begynnith <i>in festo</i>
<i>visitacionis beate marie</i> w ^t a litle lettre. | } | g |
| Itm. a pcessionary whos iij leife begynnith w ^t a lettre
in beise <i>omnibus dominicis per annum post</i>
<i>primam</i> claspid w ^t latten. | } | h |
| Itm. an old litell pcessionary in whos ij leife almost
blynd begynnyth <i>In omnibus processionibus</i>
<i>ad vespas.</i> | } | i |

All thes books leith in the third Awmbery
by the greilles.

¹ Sir William Brewen was chantry priest at Our Lady's altar, and died in 1481.

² William Yxworth died in 1508, and was buried in the chancel.

³ William Gilberd, citizen and draper, died before 1497, in which year his widow Alice was buried beside him in St. Andrew's church.

Fol 46].

Mase bokke.

- Itm. a mase booke lymmed evy letter w^t gold whos
 iiij leife begynnyth w^t the kalendar · & of
 the gifte of s^r Tho^ms Spicer pst lyying in
 the chest in the nether vestre w^t the letter ~~¶~~ in the
 written uppon hym · and belongeth to the high nether
 alter · w^t claspis and bottoms of silv^r & gilt. vestre.
- Itm. a mase boke to the same alter & in the
 same cheste lyying whos iij leife begynnyth
 w^t a kalendre & the lettre beise and claspis
 of silv^r & gilt.
- Itm. a mase bokke lyyng as is aforesaid a monge
 the Antiphenars · for evy day · w^t the lettre · ~~¶~~
 uppon hym & longith to the high aultre.
- Itm. an other old mase bokke to the high aultre
 beyng ut supra a monge the book^e of the In the
 middell shelve w^t the lettre · ~~¶~~ · upper
 vestre.
- Itm. a mase booke longyng to John Cosyns
 Chawntre songe at the Aultre of o^r lady whos
 iiij leife begynnyth w^t a kalender · lyyng in the
 cofer longyng to the chawntre wich is the
 farthest under the antiphonares.
- Itm. a mase booke of the gift of s^r Richard biston
 whos iiij leife begynnyth *mensis Januarius*
 longyng to the aultre of o^r lady lyyng in the
 cheist on the right hand in the chappell of o^r
 lady w^t this lettre [~~¶~~ struck through] ~~¶~~.
- Itm. an old mase booke of the gifte of Thomas
 Jury longyng to o^r lady aultre & lyyng in the
 same cheste.

Fol. 5a].

Itm. a mase booke of a gret volume of the gifte of Robert Toppis¹ Alderman whos first leife begynnyth w^t a kalender & belongith to sent John is aultre · lyng in the chest ther in chappell w^t · 3 ·

Itm. a mase bokke belongyng to the Trinite aultre whos first leife begynnyth w^t the kalendre & lyyth in the chest with · Ƨ · in the chappell of the Trinite [w^t · Ƨ · *written over and then struck out*] and of Robert Toppis.

Itm. a mase booke belongyng to sent Nicholas aultre w^t claspis of silver whos iij leife is *omnibus dominicis per annum* and lyyth in the chest in the [st *struck through*] chappell of sent Nicholas w^t N.

Fol. 5b. *Blank.*

Fol. 6a].

Palles.

Itm. a pale the ground blew silke & powdered w^t golde ymag^e of the salutacion & sent pole² & nycolas lyng in the lowest [shelve in the *struck through*] awmbery next the chymney.

Itm. an old ragget pale in the same awmbery.

Itm. a pale reed³ & yelow lyned w^t blake bokeram⁴ in the same awmbery.

Itm. a pale of grene w^t lions in gold lyned with Reed lying in the same awmbery

Itm. a pale of blak velvet w^t a crose of cloith of gold powdered with angellis of the geifte of John petwood Alderman lyyng in the [upper shelve be hynd the dore in the lower vestre *added by same hand*].

In the
upper
vestre.

¹ Robert Toppis, alderman, died in 1467, and was buried in the chapel of St. John Baptist, to which he gave a great massbook.

² St. Paul.

³ Red.

⁴ Bokeram or buckram: a coarse stuff used for linings.

[*Added, in very bad writing, in a third hand:* Itm. a blake palle lynyd w^t bokram and steynynd w^t fflowyrs lying in the lowest almyry next the schemny].

Fol. 6b]. Carppes Cōvlettē Qwishyns & banker cloithes w^t other.

Itm. a gret carpet of white grene & Reed colo^rs to ly a fore the high aulter hangyng uppon the pclose in the upper vestre.

Itm. in the same place a cōvlet sore worne of Reed & yelow worsted werpe w^t griffyns & knottē.

Itm. a worse of the same worke & in the same place.

Itm. a Cōvlet ground blew w^t okē & birddis and a script^{re} lyng in the same place.

Itm. an old ragget Reed cloith w^t iiij scotchyns w^t myters lying in the same place.

Itm. an olde cloith of blew say.¹

Itm. [an *struck out and*] iij [*overwritten*] other of blake say.

Itm. iij quishens of carpet worke of dyvse workē in the same place longyng to the presbitery.²

Itm. iij old qwishons daily lying in the p^sbitery

Itm. a banker cloith of verdo^r grene³ for the forme in the queer hangyng in the said place.

¹ Say was usually a sort of thin serge or woollen cloth, but sometimes the word applied to thin silk.

² Presbytery, probably the sedilia. Cf. the inventory of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 1486: "j cloth of grene bokrame lyned for the presbetory."—*Archæologia*, i. 42. Cf. also the contract for rebuilding Catterick Church, Yorks, in 1412: "And also the forsaide Richard sall make with in the quere a high awter . . . with thre Prismatories covenably made be mason crafte with in the same quere."—James Raine, *Catterick Church in the County of York* (London, 1834), 9.

³ Perhaps a kind of green baize used for hangings.

Itm. a banker¹ for the same forme of blew w^t whight lilles
in the said place.

[It. A Cowerlyth off grene & blew w^t berdys & lyons
added in a third hand].

Fol. 7a]. Qwysyhyns & pillows.

In p^hmis a qwishyñ of rede velvet the one side florished }
w^t flowers & a harte in the myddel of gold & the }
other side rede satten of the gift

Itm. an other one of blew sarsnet² powdered w^t tres }
& flowers of [glo *struck out*] gold of the gift of }

Itm. an other of blew satten powdered w^t lions of gold }
the one side. the other side blew bokeram. }

Itm. a qwishyn of blake velvet sore worne.

Itm. j of grene sendell³ sore worne

Itm. j of grene sarsnet sore worne

Itm. j of yelow sarsnet sore worne

Itm. j of bawdkyn⁴ sore worne

} of the smale seise.

Itm. ij old pelows of lynen garnishid w^t corse silke.

All thes lye in the chest w^t p. in the lowre vestre.

Fol. 7b]. Pillows.

Itm. j pillow of sangwyn sendell & j pillow of wight
cloth garnishid w^t blake silke lyyng in the awmbry
w^t napre in the upp vestre.

Fol. 8a]. Coppes.

Itm. a cope the grounde blew w^t flowers whight and }
powdered w^t lebbardel of gold and the Orferas }
crose velvet and in cape the crucifixe.

¹ A long cloth to lay on a form or bench.

² Sarsnet or sarcenet : a silk stuff first made by the Saracens.

³ Sendell, sandal, cendal : a silken fabric like sarcenet.

⁴ Bawdkyn, baudkyn : a rich silk stuff woven with gold, originally made
at Baldak or Bagdad.

- Itm. ij coppis of Reed Silke, the orferas grene baudkyn)
 powderd w^t lebbard^e in golde & other flowers.)
- Itm. a cope of yelow silke powderd w^t fflowers the)
 orferas blew worsted powderd w^t sters of gold.)
- Itm. a cope of old blake velvet garded w^t grene frence)
 of silke the orferas rede satten powderd w^t)
 flowers of gold.)
- All these hange uppon the perk^e in the upper vestre.

Fol. 8b].

Coppes.

- In pⁱmis uppon the utter most perke in the nether vestre toward the south hangith a cope of grene cloith of tissue¹ w^t an orpheras golde brodered werke of the life of sent Thomas of Canterbury. And in the cape sent petre garnyshid w^t perytt & of the gifte of Thomas Mayne. And a sheit to cov^r it w^t all large side & longe.
- Itm. uppon the nexte · an other cope of the cloithe & worke · excepte the story in the orpheras is postell^e & pphett^e & in the cape the Trynite not perllid w^t a shite large & long.
- Itm. uppon the iij staife a cope of cloith of tissue of reed colo^r of the gifte of Robert Osborne whos orpheras is brodered gold w^t postell^e & pphett^e, and the cape is the salutacioⁿ w^t a sheite.
- Itm. an other doppon the iiij staife of the same worke cloith and man is gifte/except in the cape is the Trinite w^t [ought *struck through*] a sheit.
- Itm. uppon the v staife a cope of whight damaske² w^t m̄ & A of golde croned³ w^t orpheras brodered of postell^e

¹ Tissue : any woven stuff, but usually applied to cloth of gold or silver.

² Damask : a figured silk fabric perfected at Damascus.

³ Croned = crowned.

& virgyn^l · and in the cape sent Anne · of the gifte of
[w^t a shete *added in a sixth hand*].

Itm. uppon the vj staife an other cope of wight Damaske
w^t ~~Thc~~ & ~~ff~~ croned of gold the orpheras brodered of
[*go struck out*] postell^l & virgyns & in the cape sent
Anne of the gift of [w^t a shete *added in a sixth
hand*].

Fol. 9a].

Copis.

Itm. uppon the vij staife a cope of blew velvet branched
& powdered w^t fflowrs of gold w^t an orpheras
brodered of postell^l and virgyns & in the cape the
Trinite of the gift of [w^t a shete *added in a sixth
hand*].¹

Itm. a cope of the same colo^r cloith & worke uppon the
viij staife whos orpheras is dyvse marters and in the
cape sent Kateryn/of the gift of [w^t a shete *added in
a sixth hand*].¹

Itm. uppon the [viij *struck out*] ix staife a cope of rede
damaske powdered w^t archangell^l of gold and ~~Thc~~ in
picto^r & wrytyng in the mydd^l · the orpheras brodered
of the passion. And in the cape the transfiguracion · of
the gifte of

Itm. uppon the x staife · a cope of blew velvet florishid w^t
archangell^l of gold · the orpheras rede velvet garnyshid
w^t marters of gold · and the cape written w^t letters
made w^t perle *domine peto Iudicium de tua misericordia/*
of the gifte of

Itm. uppon the xj staife a cope of dune velvet w^t orpheras
rede velvet garnyshid w^t flowers brodered of luk^l
golde² · of the gife [*sic*] of

¹ These two copes were probably those to which Sir William Bilham gave
a suit of vestments.

² Probably gold thread from Lucca.

Item upon the xii staife a cope of rede velvet & wight
 satten panned¹ florished w^t flowers in manner of
 trailing vine² except the orpheras & the myrle panne
 [or satten out] which is rede velvet & garnyschid w^t
 baynes & gold of the gifte of

For xliij. copis.

Item upon the xiii staife a cope of grene bawdkyn powdered
 w^t beards of gold the orpheras of broiery³ w^t
 pascall & argens and in the cape the coronation of
 Christ of the gifte of

Item upon the xiiii staife ii coppes of grene satten the
 orpheras reed satten & doryschid w^t flowers of
 broiery stiks gold w^t a pellicane in the cape and of
 the gifte of

Item upon the xv staife ij coppis of wight bawdkyn
 powdered w^t rays of gold & reed floues [sic] and
 the orpheras w^t bawdkyn of the gifte of

Item upon the xvi staife ij copis of whight bawdkyn
 powdered w^t rays of gold And the orpheras blew
 bawdkyn powdered w^t rays of gold And of the gifte of
 [Also ii coppis of busteny⁴ whyte powderyd w^t rosys &
 flowers & ii orpheras Red Satten added in a sixth
 leaf.]


Item upon the xvii staife ij copes of wight diap⁵ branchid
 florished w^t flowers brodered And the orpheras reed
 satten d⁶ visibili w^t blew colymbhys and in the cape an
 ff in some hermes of gold & ij letters **B** & **A** of the
 gifte of

Item upon the same xvij staife ij copis of wight busteny⁷
 florished w^t flowers brodered And the orpheras reed

¹ Panned : arranged in panes or stripes.

² A running or trailing vine.

³ Busteny, bustian : perhaps a cotton fabric of foreign manufacture.

sendell · the one florished w^t flowers & the other w^t 
And of the gifte of

[Itm. ij Copys off velvett powdered w^t starres off goold &
y^e orpheras off brothery wark · & in y^e oñ cape iij
kyng^e off coleyn & in y^e other cape thassencioñ *added
in a sixth hand.*]

Fol. 10a].

Copis.

Itm. uppon the xvij staife a cope of grene bawdkyn
powdered w^t lions of gold w^t an orpheras of wight ·
florishid w^t flowes [*sic*] and spangill^e of latten And of
the gifte of

Itm. uppon the same xvij [*sic*] staife a cope of sanguyne
worsted w^t orpheras of grene wursted flower'd w^t
flowers brodered · and in the cape sent pole of the
gifte of


Itm. uppon the same xvij staife ij · copis sore worne of
reed bawdkyn powdered w^t smale egles of gold · the
orpheras grene velvet florishid w^t ymagery · & in the
cape the crucifixe.

Itm. uppon the xix staife ij copis of grene bawdkyn w^t
orpheras of blew bawdkyn powdered w^t fesans¹ of
gold & wight flowers.

Itm. uppon the same xix staife · a cope of blewe bawdkyn
powdered w^t wight · and orpheras grene velvet
garnyshid w^t crones & starres.

Itm. uppon the xxⁱⁱ staife a cope of blake velvet sore
worne · w^t orpheras blew velvet florishid w^t flower de
lewis of golde and in the cape an ymage of o^r lady.
of the gifte of

Itm. uppon the same xx staife ij copis of blake worsted w^t
orpheras green velvet playn of the gifte of

[Itm. (a C *struck out*) urpon the same xx staffe a Cope
of blewe damaskt w^t añ grene Offeras of the gyft of
 Wynton ald *added in a sixth hand.*]

¹ Pheasants.

Fol. 106].

Copis.

- Itm. iiij copis for childern of corse vorke chekerd of reed
& wight lyying uppon the [nether *altered into*] over
shelve next the wyndows in the nether vestre.
- Itm. a cope for the boy that is the bushope paned yelow
& blew lyng uppon the seid shelve.
- Itm. an other of grene bawdkyn for the bushope lyng
uppon the same shelve.

Fol. 11a].

Vestymētē.

- Itm. a vestiment w^t decon & subdeacon of the ground
blew whit fflowers w^t libbardē of gold the orpheras rede
velvet corse w^t ymagery for the sondays.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of bawdkyn blew & yelow
powderd w^t whigh flowers · the orpheras corse grene
velvet w^t crownes of gold.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of red silke branchid w^t whight
flowers the orpheras blew silke w^t sters of gold
- Itm. a pst decon & subdecon of grene bawdkyn powderd
w^t pecokē orpheras reed & lyned w^t sangwyn sarsnet.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of · whight bawdkyn powderd
w^t birdē of whight hede & fete & of gold · and
streippis of lewkē golde.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of yelow bawdkyn the
orpheras blew silke · powderd w^t [ble *struck out*]
whight flowers.
- Itm. pst decon & subdecon of blake bawdkyn powderd w^t
squerelles of gold the orpheras reid cloith of bawdkyn
vergid w^t yelow ribbon.

All these lyith uppon the shelve w^t the script^r
Vestymētē complet in the upper vestre.

Fol. 11b].

Vestmentē.

- Itm. a single vestiment of blake wursted powderd w^t red
roses.

- Itm. a single vestment of blake wursted w^t orpheras blew worsted and wight fht.
- Itm. a vestment of grene cloith of bawdkyn old w^t stole & maniple of other colo's and [shortt *struck out*] sv's [*written over*] for evy day.
- Itm. an old vestment of whight bawdkyn sore wornne w^t orpheras red cloth.
- [Item a vestment of grene cloith of bawdkyn w^t orpheras red & wight bawdkyn w^t birdd^l of golde *struck out and quia postea written in the margin.*]
- Itm. a single vestment of blew chamlet¹ garnished w^t fht crowned in gold & the orpheras rede chamlet w^t a chales on the bake.
- Itm. a single vestment of wight bawdkyn w^t an orpheras of reed cloith w^t ymage of o^r lady uppon the bake.
- Itm. a single vestment of rede bawdkyn powdered w^t bok^l & the orpheras rede say.
- [*Added in a fourth hand:*
- Itm. a single vestment of Ray² of colour Red & blewe and the orpheras blak w^t roses & stole and pbys w^t out awbe.
- Itm. a single vestment of Bawdkyn blewe & whit w^t orpheras blak w^t roses redd & whit w^t stole & pbys w^t out awbe.
- Itm. a single vestment of whit bawdkyn & stripid w^t red & grene & the orpheras Grene & Blewe w^t stole & pbys].
- [*Added in a sixth hand:*
- Itm. a vestment off Red worsted powdered w^t yelow Saten & fhts up on it.
- Itm. a vestment off grene bawdkyn powdered w^t fflowers & swannes y^e orpheras off Red & whyte bawdkyn.

¹ Chamlet, camlet: a stuff of uncertain origin, by some supposed to have been made of silk and camel's hair.

² Ray or rayed stuff was woven in stripes.

Itm. a syngle vestment of yelow stryppyd y^e orpheras blak powdered w^t Gryppys].¹

All thes vestment^e liyth uppon the shelve with script^r of singl^e of vestment^e in the upp vestre.

Fol. 12a].

Vestement^e.

In p^rimis uppon the lower pres in the lower vestre be hynd the dore on the right hande at the first entre a vestment complet w^t deacon & subdeacon of purpull vellvet powderd w^t archangell^e of gold . And the orpheras red velvet w^t ymagery of the gift of Thomas

[Item uppon the (same *altered into*) middelt pres . a vestment cōplet of grene cloith of tissew . w^t orpheras of brodery vorke (*glo struck out*) gold of ymagere & in the prest vestre the marterdoms of sent Thomas of Cantorbury of the gifte of Thomas Aleñ² *all crossed out and vacat q3 postea written in margin.*]

Itm. a vestment complet of bawdkyn red & grene powdered w^t pecokk^e of golde w^t orpheras of broderd imagery of the gifte of lyng uppon the lower prese.

Itm. uppon the same lower prese a vestment of red bawdkyn powdered w^t smale egell^e of golde the orpheras brodery of gold & of the passion of the gifte All thes vestment^e liyth uppon the lower prese in the lower vestre.

Fol. 12b].

Vestment^e.

Itm. uppon the middle prese a vestment complet of grene

¹ Gryphons or griffins.

² Thomas Alen, citizen and grocer, was sheriff of Norwich in 1447-8. "In 1453, Tho. Aleyn, grocer, [was buried] in the north isle, and gave a vestment of a 100 marks, with these words thereon in small pearls. *Orate pro Animabus Thome Aleyn et Agnetis uxoris eius.*"—Blomefield, iv. 212.

cloth of tissue w^t orpheras of brodery worke gold ·
ymagery of the mardome of sent Thomas of Cantor-
bury of the gift of Thomas Aleñ.

Itm. uppoñ the same prese a vestment complet of rede
tissew w^t orpheras brodery and in the bake of the
prest the crucifixe of the gifte of Robert Osborne
baker.¹

Itm. a uppoñ the same prese a complet vestment of blew
velvet [w^t *struck out*] powdered w^t fflowers the
orpheras brodery worke · in the bake of the prest the
crucifixe & of the gifte of.²

All thes liyth uppon the myddell prese in
the lower vestre.

Fol. 13a]. Vestment^l.

Itm. a vestment complet of blake velvet w^t
orpheras of blew velvet w^t flowr de lise
in gold & of the gifte of & liyth
uppon the [tap *altered into*] tabull bi the
wyndows in the lower vestre.

Itm. uppon the same tabull a vestment cōplet
of whight bawdkyn w^t lions powdered in
gold & the orpheras rede bawdkyn of
the gifte of Vestment^l.

Itm. uppon the same tabull a vestment cōplet
of wight saten the orpheras rede saten
powdered w^t dyvse flowers · brodered · of
the gifte

thes vestment^l liyth uppoñ the tabull by the
wyndows in the lower vestre.

¹ "In 1494, Rob. Osborn, sheriff, was buried before the image of our
Lady on the *rood-left*, on the south side by Eliz. his late wife, and ordered
Eliz. his relict to buy for the high-altar a red velvet vestment of 40*l*."—
Blomefield, iv. 214. Osborne's brass gives 1495 as the date of his death.

² This suit was probably the one given by Sir William Bilham. See
note *ante*.

Fol. 13b].

Vestment^e.

- Itm. a vestment single of chekker worke
velvet grene & yelow for the prest
to syng in uppon sent nycholas day. lyng [th
crossed out]
- Itm. a complet vestment for my lord &
ij of his bois of syngle sarsnet
chekker worke. uppon the
upper shelve
next the
- Itm. a [*struck out*] the upp more parte of
a vestment for the bushope of steyned
cloith w^t amor. wyndows in
nether veste.
- Itm. a vestment single [vestiment *crossed out and dotted
under*] for the high aulter of wight bustany w^t a
grene orpheras of bustany for lent.
- Itm. a single vestment for o^r lady aulter of wight diap^r
crossed w^t bawdkyn the vestment and the stole w^t
recidue wight sasnet for lent.
- Itm. a single vestment of white busteny garnyshid w^t rede
riboñ for sent Nycholas aulter in lent.
- Itm. a single vestment of wight bustany · whos orpheras
a fore is yelow bawdkyn for the trinite aulter in lent.
- Itm. a single vestment of wight bustany garnyshid w^t blew
rebbons for sent Johns aulter in lent.
- Itm. an awbe · w^t blew chessabelle · garnishid w^t crownes of
gold · & a lambe uppon a boke · of gold · & it s'vyth
to bere the oile and crñe at ester.

All thes lye uppon the ij shelve bi the wyndows
in the nether veste.

Fol. 14a].

Vestment^e.

- Itm. a single vestment of wight damaske w^t orpheras rede
damaske w^t a ymage of sent Anne uppon the bake /
belongyng to sent Anne is gilde/
- Itm. a vestment single of wight satten w^t orpheras rede
satten. And an *ff* crowned of gold in the mydd^e of
the bake /for o^r lady aulter/

- Itm. a vestment single for sent Nicholas ault¹ of wight
bawdkyn powdered w^t fesans & dogg² of gold
And the orpheras rede bawdkyn powdered w^t luke¹
gold · after · damaske worke.
- Itm. a single vestment for the trinite aulter of wight diap^r
w^t orpheras rede worsted florisid · w^t brodered flowers
corse in gold.
- Itm. a single vestment for sent Johns ault¹ of wight
· bustany · florisid w^t flowers · & the orpheras of reed
wursted w^t a crucifixe uppon the bake.
- Itm. a single vestment for the high aulter · of reed &
grene bawdkyn w^t lions & unycorns in gold · &
the orpheras blew sarsnet w^t *3*h^c crowned uppon the
bake.
- Itm. a single vestment for o^r lady aulter of blew worsted
garnished w^t *3*h^c & *3*l^c cronod of gold · & crose
orpheras w^t ymagery brodered.
- Itm. a single vestment of blew sarsnet & the orpheras
grene playn for sent Nycholas aulter.

Fol. 14b]. Vestment².

- Itm. for the Trynete aulter · a single vestment of done²
damaske florisid w^t flowers brodered And the
orpheras blew velvet pirled.³ And the bake an *3*l^c
cronod in gold.
- Itm. a single vestment for sent Johns aulter of rede satten
garnishid w^t flowers broderd. And the orpheras grene
satten florisid w^t floerd [*sic*] & of the gift of s' John
grace *3*ste.

All these vestmentt² leith uppon the iij shelve next
the vyndo in the lower vestre.

Fol. 15a. *Blank.*

¹ i.e. Lucca.

² Dun colour.

³ Embroidered with seed pearls or beads.

Fol. 15b].

[*In later writing*: Itm. a pair of tablett^e enamlet aswell
w^t in as w^t ought in blew ammel belongyng to Jhe
mase of the gifte of

Itm. a round Agnus Dey w^t holy waxe · w^t ij birdd^e in blew
amiell in the mydes].

[In margin in
a 2nd hand:

Fol. 16a]. Silver Plate w^t Juell^e and relikk^e &c.

<p><i>clericus habet.</i></p> <p><i>clericus habet.</i></p> <p>[do. crossed out].</p> <p>[clericus habet crossed out.]</p> <p>[in custodia longyng to Iho mase crossed out].</p> <p>[caret crossed out].</p> <p>+</p> <p><i>Caret.</i></p>	<p>Itm. a Senso^r of silver pondez passell gilte daily occupied.</p> <p>Itm. a shipe passell gilte pondez estrige fether in the midd^e of it.</p> <p>Itm. a crose of silver plate nailed uppon tymber · whos soket is latten gilte · of the gifte of</p> <p>Itm. a pair challis gilte pondez of Robert holdy · & xpiane his wiffe whos names be written in the fote. And in the paten is graven the vernecle.</p> <p>Itm. a pair chalis passell gilte pondez the crucifixe o^r lady & sent John in the fote graven & gilte · & in the paten the vernecle gilte · of the gifte of</p> <p>Itm. a pair chalis passell gilte pondez the crucifixe a lone gilte in the ffote & in the paten the venecele [<i>sic</i>] gilte of the gifte of</p> <p>Itm. a pair chalis passell gilt · pondz of the gifte of Robert de Derh^m Cooke whos name is graven in the fote · & in the paten the vernecle hed w^t the holy gost cumyng ought of his mowith.</p>	<p>unces } Senso^r.</p> <p>w^t a } Shipe.</p> <p>} Crose.</p> <p>of the gifte }</p> <p>} Chalis.</p>
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All thes liyth in the upper Awmbry next un to
the chymney in upper vestre.

Fol. 16b].

Plate.

- Itm. a crose w^t the crucifixe o^r lady & sent John w^t }
 [iiij *altered into*] iij ev^angelest^e in amell at }
 every upper end one & the xij Appostellis in }
 amell at the lower end · w^t vj wrethyng wormes }
 betwen the Appostell^e & the knope of the }
 soket · And the crose selfe is enameld in the }
 mydd^e w^t blew amell & whight roses boith be }
 hynd & a fore [w^t *struck out*] the recidue gilt/ }
 w^t a fote also to the same graven w^t iiij }
 ev^angelest^e · & [iiij *altered into*] iij pphett^e w^t } *Crose.*
 the gospell^e & pphetz in vij q^urt^s & in the viij }
 q^urt^r sent peter sitting in blew amell hym }
 selfe wight And [he *struck out*] a mañ womañ }
 & j child knellyng uppon grene amell a for }
 hym · &c. And this crose stondyth in a box }
 made ther [ther *struck out*] for in the further }
 corner · in the lowe vestre bi the Juell cheste }
 And this crose w^t the fote pondereth Clxvj }
 unċ And of the gifte of
- Itm. an other crose gilte w^t a crucifie [*sic*] w^t ought }
 o^r lady & sent John but w^t iiij ev^angelist^e at }
 the four endd^e in blew amell And under sent }
 Mathew the xij appostellis in blew amell them } *Crose.*
 selfe whight · and so the knope & the soket }
 pond³ And it liyth in a boxe framed for }
 it uppon the chest w^t · 3 · in the lower vestre. }
- Itm. a pair [ch *crossed out*] candelstikk^e pond³ }
 [xl *altered into*] lij unċ parcell gilte }
 w^t knoppis in the mydd^e w^t vj faces graven } *Candil-*
 in flowers/of the wich j is [in] the chest } *stike.*
 w^t 3. And the other stondith ought in the }
 nether vestre for buryyng^e.

Fol. 17a].

Plate.

- sista.* Itm. ij Cruett℥ parcell gilt pondꝝ uppon
 whos one side is graven 3℥ in sone bemys
 and the other side 3℥ in sone bemys And
 · E · graven uppon the one cover & · A · Cruett℥.
 uppon the other of the wich the one is in
 the chest w^t · 3 · and the other left ought
 w^t the candelstike for cristenyng℥.
- caret.* Itm. a pair silver bassons pondꝝ xliij uncē dī
 parcell gilte w^t roses pounsē in the mydd℥
 · gilte · And in the myddis of the rose in the
 one bason sent petir & polle stondyng
 graven And in the other of the same facion } basons.
 + w^t a spoute under the bryme graven a lion
in sista. hed · of the wich one lyth in the chest w^t
 3. And other w^t ought w^t the cruet for
 cristenyng℥.
- caret.* Itm. ij basons silv & all gilte pondꝝ w^t ij
 roses in the myd℥ stondyng in blew amell
 the roses gilte & will [*sic*] deforme beste } basons.
 + graven a bought · the one bason w^t a spoute ·
 graven lik a lion heed /lyyng in the chest
 w^t 3 in the lower vestre.
- caret.* Itm. a stondyng pixe gilte · pounsē w^t fflowrs
 of iij leves & dragon tounge w^t a knope in
 the mydd℥ pondꝝ ly yng in the chest } pixe.
 + w^t 3.
- in sista.* Itm. a stondyng pixe w^t a crucifie [*sic*] in the
 tope [cla struck out] called a gripe is eg w^t
 sent xpofer graven w^t in the cover · w^t a fote } pixe.
 graven & scutchyn of a Rampyng lion of
 ij colōs gilte & blake ly yng in a chest w^t 3.
- in sista.* Itm. a litell pixe parcell gilt w^t a playn crose
 in the tope pondꝝ of the gifte of } pixe.
 my lady brews / ly yng in the chest w^t · 3.

Fol. 17b].

Plate.

Itm. a Sensor^r all gilte pondz xlvj unces di w^t vj
 round torrettē ij w^t toppis & ij the cheynes
 be fasted in And vj libbardde hedde w^t } Sensor^r.
 spowttē · betwen ij torrettē an heed /of the
 gifte of lyng in the chest w^t 3.

Itm. a senso^r of silv^o & parcell gilte pondz ·
 w^t ij libardde heedē bleryng ther tounge^r } Sensor^r.
 gilte of the gifte of Willm̃ [Curstes *struck out*]
 Curtes lying in the chest of 3.

Itm. a shipe w^t an estrige feather standing uppon
 the myddē [w^t a spone of silver in it *crossed*
here. out] pondz viij unc^o di q^urt^o, of the gifte } Shipe.
 And liyth in the cheste w^t · 3.

Itm. ij paxes silv^o & all gilte w^t the crucifixe mary
 & John sone & mōne ov^r ther heedē in blew
 amell stondyng/of the gifte of Thomas Aleñ¹ } paxes.
 pondz lyng in the boxe of · p. w^t in
 the chest of 3.

Itm. an ymage of silv^o of o^r Savio^r w^t hys woundē
 bledyng his vesture gilte w^t a litle pixe for
 the sacrament uppon the breste and a diadem
 silv^o & gilte · pondz lvijj unc^o di w^t a crose } Savio^r.
 & the fote of the worke · of the gifte
 lyng in the boxe w^t 2. w^t in the chest of · 3.

Itm. an haly vater stike w^t ij wrethis gilte pondz } haly
ri fowr unces of the gifte of lyng in } wat'
 the [che *struck out*] chest of · 3. } stike.

¹ "1464. Agnes, widow of Thomas Aleyn, alderman, buried by her husband's tomb, and gave two *osculatories* of *peace*, of silver, to serve at the altar."—Blomesfield, iv. 213.

Fol. 18a].

Plate.

- in vista.* Itm. a pixe all gilte of silver · w^t a crucifixe mary and John in toppe · and iiij red roses a bought the glase on boith sid^e of the gife [sic] of John de Shottesh^m pond; xxj unc² lyng in the boxe of · ~~ss~~. w^t in the chest of · ~~ss~~. } pixe.
- in vista.* Itm. a cresmetyry sil^v & passell gilte pond; xxiiij unc² w^t ij angelles beryng it up at ich corner · one gilte · ther wyng^e a brode of the gifte of stondyng in the chest of · ~~ss~~. } Cresmatory.
- in vista.* Itm. ij pixes of sil^v & all gilte w^t dyv^se and many relikk^e · of the gifte of Richard ballis² aldermañ whos name is written in ther fette pond; of the wich pixis the one haith a crose of glase w^t a crose of tymber in it · & iiij perlles and the other a crucifixe w^t Mary & John · thei lye in a grene cofer w^t · ~~ss~~. w^t in the cheste of · ~~ss~~. } pixe.
- in the vestre.* Itm. a crose staife of silver and [gif struck out] gilte w^t iiij knoppis graven & enamelled his name tha [sic] gave it and in the tope vj apostellis graven & tabernacled pond; unces And of the gifte of Richard ballis · & stondith in the corn¹ next the crose in the low vestre. } crose staife.

¹ "1461. John Shotesham buried in the church, gave a silver *pis* of 6 marks value."—Blomefield, iv. 213.

² "1506, Allice Ballis, buried in our *Lady's* chapel, by Ric. Ballis, her husband, and gave 5*l.* to cover the relics in the church with silver."—Blomefield, iv. 214.

Fol. 18b].

Chales.

Itm. a peer of chalis of silv[?] all gilte of the
 gifte of s^r Nicholas Dereh^m p[?]ste in whos
 [sic] is written *Orate pro anima Nicholai Berh^m*
capellani & Ihus Xps pounsed · and abought the
 Cupe *Cara mea vera est cibus &c.* And in
 the fote one q^uter the crucifixe uppon the
 crose · whight · & in blew amell w^t small
 sters · and a bought the paten is written
benedictus qui venit · & the Trinite in blew
 amell in the myddel · pondz
 lyng in the chest of *3*.

Itm. a paer chales of silver · all glite [sic] of
 the gifte of Will^m Curtes uppon whos fote
 is graven the crucifixe with Mary & John
 & v tymes *Ihc* · gilte And in the paten the
 Trinite graven & only gilte · w^t *Orate pro*
anima &c. a bought the verge pondering ·
 & stondyng in the chest w^t *3*.

Itm. a pair chales · of silver all gilte w^t the fete pounsed
 w^t knyttyng leves · & the [shave *crossed out*] shaft
 amelled w^t blew in whos vj q^uter of the fote is a
 crucifixe w^t Mary & John gilte stondyng in blew amell
 And the paten gilte w^t the Trinite gilte his veste^r
 reed · sitting in blew amell//pondz & stondyng
 in the chest of *3*.

Itm. a pair chalis of silv[?] & all gilte in whos fote is
 written under the crucifixe *Orate pro anima Will[?]elmi*
Carlton &c. And in the middel of the paten a lambe
 beryng a crose w^t a pendant · pondz lyng
 in the chest of · *3*.

Fol. 19a].

Chales.

Itm. a pair chalis of silv[?] all gilte & a bought the [sic] the
 cupe is written, *Benedicamus dominum in omni &c.* & in

the fote v tymes *3*h And in the vj q^r a crucifixe
 stondyng in blew amell w^t a patent written a bought
in vista. Calixm salutatis &c. & a vernacle stondyng in blew
 amell w^t sone bemys gilte pondz of the gifte
 of lyng in the chest w^t 3.

corot + Itm. a pair chalis of silv⁹ parcell gilte of the gifte of John
 Herte · whos name is written in the fote bi the
 crucifixe · gilte · And in the paten the Trinite gilte
 pondz · stondyng in the chest of 3.

corot + Itm. a pair chalis silv⁹ parcell gilte In whos fote is a
 playn crose · glite [*sic*] & in the patten a vernacle
 gilte pondz & of the gifte and stondyng
 in the chest of 3.

[*corot struck out*]. Itm. a pair chalis silv⁹ & parcell gilte · in whos fote is
 + a crucifixe gilte · the knope gilte · And in the paten
 [*in vista struck out*]. a vernecle gilte · pondz And of the gifte of
 lyng in the cheste of 3.

[*Added in a second hand*: Itm. a pair chales passell
clericus habet. gilt in whose fote is graven the crucifix only in a
 branch & in the vernecle the the (*sic*) Trynyte gilte ·
 sitting.

Itm. a pair challes passell gylt remanyng in the hand^e of
 the chauntre prest hand^e of the gifte of John Coson
 founder of the the (*sic*) chauntre].

Fol. 196].

[*All added in a second hand*: Itm. a pix of silver passell
 gilt w^t ij knoppis of Cristall in the shank one & on the
 knopp and other pondz

Itm. a pixe of silv⁹ passell gilt the coppe of yv⁹ y¹ pondz

Itm. a pixe all gilt for the sacrament beryng w^t ij Angell^e
 a bought the barrall & J^hc in his Sepulcre bi them/
 o^r lady sent peter & pole ov⁹ the birrall & the
 Trynyte in a pavilion in the tope of the gift of s'
 Robt Cutler prest · pondz.

¹ Ivory.

- Itm. a pix of silver all (*gist crossed out*) gilt for sent
peters cheyne · w^t a Cruciffixe in the tope & sen
peter croned pondz (xxxij uncl *added*).
- It ij basons passell gilt w^t Rosses in the bottem in sone
bemies one havying sent John baptist^e & sent John
evⁿgelest & the other sent margaret & sent Katren
in blew amell of the yift of John Cutler & Margaret
his wiff.
- Itm. ij paxis all gillt · of the gift of Thoñs Alen w^t ij
Crucifixes in blew amell.¹
- Itm. ij smaller paxes all gilt graven crucifixes w^t ij scoutkyns
of Armes Jhc & Morleys.
- Itm. one haly watter stoppe w^t the stike passell gilt of the
et. gifte of s' John Derehant (*sic*) prest² pondering (xlv
uncl *added*).
- Itm. a verger · of silv⁹ w^t ye crose kays & the mytre in the
tope · of the gifte of Robt bou^r grocer.
- Itm. ij small crewett^e all gilt of the gilt (*sic*) of [m] wiff
Ellys³ pondez
- Itm. a Relaye maner of an ewre⁴ passell gilte pouncefed (*sic*)
of [m] Ellis gift pondz¹]

The original hand resumes:

Fol. 20a]. Corporas.

In p¹mis a corporas case the one side [*clos struck out*] blew
cloith of tissue And the other side blew damaske And
iiij blew bottons at ich end one · And a cloith in it of
the gifte of⁵

¹ Both these entries have the beginning struck through, as if to shew that the whole was cancelled.

² Sir John Doraunt, as he is named on his brass, was chantry priest at Our Lady's altar from 1513 to 1543.

³ Probably William Ellis, son of Thomas and Margaret Ellis, who became Baron of the Exchequer in 1535.—*See* Blomefield, iv. 198, 199.

⁴ Perhaps a replenisher, or a "layer" or laver.

⁵ This was probably the one given by Sir William Bilham. *See* note 2, p. 187, *ante*.

- Itm. a corporas case of grene cloith tissue the one side the other side grene damaske w^t iiij grene bottons at ich end one of the gifte of
- Itm. an other of cloith of gold w^t rede flowers the one side the other side blake velvet and a corporas in it of the gifte of
- Itm. an other of rede velvet boith sidd^l · w^t iiij reede bottons and a corporas in it of the gift
- Itm. an other of cloith of gold w^t a rose of rede velvet in the same in the mydd^l uppon boith sidjs · And [*crossed out*] iiij flowers tasselled w^t grene silke at ich end one · set w^t perle of the gifte
- Itm. an old one of brodery worke gold of the whell of fortune · of the gifte & a corporas in it.
- Itm. j of old cloith of bawdkyn scutchyns one the one side and knott^l uppon the other and a corporas in it.
- Itm. j of old blake velvet uppon boith sid^l and a corporas in it.
- Itm. j of old nedull worke one the one side flowrishid w^t flowers & buttere flyes and the other sid blew cloith of bawdkyn and a corporas in it.

Fol. 20b].

Corporas.

- Itm. a corporase case of rede & blake bawdkyn powdered w^t birdd^l pillers & Dogg^l · & a corporas in it.
- Itm. a corporase of grene bawdkyn the one side and the other side lether · & a cloith in it.
- [*In a sixth hand*: Itm. a Corporas Case off blak Clothe off tesew the one sydy & the other syd blew schamlet].
All thes lye in litell cofer w^t Ⓔ in the low vestre.
- Itm. vj corporas casses & vj cloithis corse for evy day In the awnbry in the high vestre · w^t chales.

Fol. 21a. *Blank.*

Fol. 21b]. Canapis.

- Itm. a canape of reed damaske · w^t a chalis of gold in brodery worke in the myddel and frengid · a bought w^t wight rede & grene silke · & lyith uppon the upp more shelve be hynd the dore in the low vestre.
- Itm. a frame of tymber w^t iiij staves steyned rede for the same canape · lyng under the copis.

Fo. 22a]. Curtens & clothis of silke for the cov'ng of the pixe where the sacrament is.

- Itm. j pece of rede syngle sarsnet of ell & more longe & yerd brode · w^t *the xps* in letters of gold in the myddel · longyng to the sepulcre.
- Itm. an other pece of ell & more longe · & q^uarter of a yerde brod · of the same silke & color.
- Itm. an other of the same colo^r & silke · of dī yerd longe & q^uarter brode · w^t ij streippis of wight & one of blew in the one end.
- Itm. ij of blake sarsnet · of [iiij q^uarters *crossed out and*] yerd [*written over*] or more longe a pece · & iiij q^uarters brode · w^t frenge of silke at the one end of wight rede & grene.
- Itm. an old one of wight sarsnet of iiij yaddel longe q^uarter brode sore worne.
- Itm. a goode one · of yerd & more evy way · of Reed sarsnet garnishid w^t yelow ribbon w^t knoppis · in nedull worke · iiij of gold · & tasselled w^t rede silke and it lyith for the pixe.
- Itm. j of yelow sarsnet of iiij yerd & more longe · and dī yerde brode & chaunable⁷ in ich ende & in myddel a litell

⁷ *Sic* for "changeable" = shot.

- Itm. j pece of grene sarsnet of ij yerd^l & more longe
 & yerde & more brode · new w^t iiij wight thredd^l
 rūnyng thorow ought the pece in the one end.
- Itm. a pece of reed sendell of iiij q^{rt} of yerd longe & di
 yerd brode sore worne.

Fol. 22b].

Curtens.

- Itm. ij cortens of grene sarsnet · of yerde & dī longe
 a pece & yerd brode redy rynged · the one haith a
 hole in the upp parte.
- Itm. ij cortens of grene sarsnet of yerd & more longe
 & iiij q^{rters} brode · frenged w^t wight red & grene
 silke · reddy ryngged.
- Itm. ij cortens · of wight & blew w^t other colo^{rs} of sarsnet
 panet of ij yerdd^l longe & yerd & dī brode w^t
 frence of wight rede & grene of silke · reddy
 rynged [uppon the one · the other not frenged · *struck*
out]
- [*Added in a fourth hand*: It. j redde sarsenet for the
 sakerment vergid w^t (frence of *struck out*) goold and
 iiij knoppes reed sylk & goold.
- It. j reed silk ij yerd^l in lenkyth & dī elne in breed.
- It. j reed silke hangyng ov⁹ the heigh auter ov⁹ the pyxt
 daly and is frenged w^t].
- [*In a fifth hand*: Itm. ij^o Curtens of Steyned Clothe
 white w^t Crownes of Thorne and *Jesus* (in *struck*
out) Wretyn in them in red and *Ive* for lente / to
 hang in the Quere].
- [*In a sixth hand*: Itm. ij Cortens off greinne sarsent
 pentyd w^t florrys off gold & *Jesus* crownyd lynyd w^t
 greine bockram & serve to hang in the quere].

All thes lye wrappid in a napkyn in the litell
 cofer w^t x. in the nether vestre.

Fol. 23a]. Hangyng^e & Aulter cloithis for all aulters.

- Itm. a hangyng of grene sarsnet w^t ymages & 3^hc & sterres gilte complet for the v aulters of the gifte of Richard ballis.
- Itm. a cloith of blew tissue w^t a frence of silke wight grene rede & yelowe for the nether part only of the high aulter of the gifte.
- Itm. a steyned cloith w^t shipes of gold & estrigg^e fethers one wight and other grene for the neu^l [*sic*] part of the high aulter.
- Itm. a frontell of velvet of the same worke w^t a aulter cloith of diap^r of the gift of
All thes lye uppon the neu^l shelve in the further end
of the low vester next the chest w^t 3.

Fol. 23b]. Aulter clothis.

Itm.

- Itm. a complet hangyng for the v aulters of steyned worke for lent w^t [*w altered into*] veyns & closters · & other ymagery.
- Itm. ij steyned litell clothes w^t lambis & · frengid with thred for the shreyne on pame sonday.
- Itm. an hangyng of blake bawdkyn steyned w^t libard^e hed^e of gold as well be neith as a [*bis crossed out*] boife to the highter aulter only w^t iij towellis · ij playn & one diapare · longyng only to the same and not to the napry.
- [Itm^l for ij aulters more boith a bove & beneath · and beneath (*written over both crossed out*) of the third of blake sarsnet *struck out*]
- Itm. for the other iij aulters vj [*of struck out*] clothis of blake sarsnet & ij of lynen cloith steyned blake lyned w^t bokeram.

Itm. a frontell of blake velvet to the high aulter w^t a frence of silke & ij grene frence^l rünyng thorow ought the frontell.

[*Added in a fifth hand*: Itm. A vernacle off made in lawnde¹ & y^e passion off Cryst w^t petyr & powle].

All thes lye uppon the uppermore shelve · in the fu^r end · of the nether vestre on the side wher the copis hange.

Fol. 24a]. Aulter clothes.

Itm. the upp parte [& the nether *struck out*] parte for the high aulter of wight bawdkyn w^t roses of gold & grene leves.

Itm. the nether parte w^t the frontell of bawdkyn wight w^t lions of gold & the frontell haith a cloith for the aulter of diap^r soid² to it.

Itm. a hangyng whight for o^r lady aulter steyned after the bawdkyn w^t roses And an ymage of sent Anne & o^r lady in the mydds.

Itm. for sent Nycholas aulter after the same worke w^t thadcension in the mydd^l.

Itm. for sent John is aulter a wight after damaske worke w^t the salutation of o^r lady.

Itm. for the Trinite aulter a wight steyned hangyng w^t the coronation of o^r lady in the upp parte & sent Anne in the nether parte.

Itm. ij nether part^l for aulter sould togeder steyned after the worke of the bawdkyn w^t roses.

Itm. wight steyned cloith w^t flowers of yelow for the nethe part of the high aulter.

All thes lyith uppon the third shelve in the vestre beneith next the copis.

¹ Lawnde: lawn, or fine linen.

² Sewed.

Itm. a hangyng of wight sarnet w^t the v iois of o^r lady & other ymagery steyned in gold for upp parte of the high aulter lyyng uppon the upp mor shelve be hynd the dore.

Fol 24b].

Aulter clothis.

Itm. a nether cloith of grene bawdkyn w^t ij ymag^e of sent John baptist and John ev^gngelist longyng to Sent John is aulter.

Itm. a hangyng a bove & beneith for sent John is aulter of grene sarsnet w^t roses.

Itm. for the same aulter a frontell of blew velvet w^t a corse cloith of diap^r.

Itm. a cloith steyned w^t v iois of o^r lady for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a nether cloith of grene bawdkyn w^t heynis of gold and corse diap^r cloith soid to for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a frontell of the same grene bawdkyn w^t a cloith of diap^r the one end blew ray for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a frontell frenged w^t silke red grene & wight of corse cloith of tissue for o^r lady aulter.

Itm. a steyned cloith w^t trinite in the mydd^e for the nether part of Trinite aulter.

Itm. a steyned cloith of rede florishid w^t wight flowers [for he *struck out*] for aboife & beneyth of the Trinite aulter & in the mydd^e of the upp cloith the second pson & in ther lower pte of o^r lady.

Itm. a cloith of grene bawdkyn w^t wight lylles for the nether parte of sent necholas aulter w^t a diap^r toelly sowd un to it.

Itm. a frontell of the same grene bawdkyn with a diap^r cloith w^t ij pachis for sent Nycholas aulter.

Itm. an other frontell of the same worke for the same aulter w^t a cloith of diap^r.

Itm. a steyned cloith of rede with the coronation of o^r lady for the upp parte of o^r lady aulter.¹

Fol. 25a]. Aulter clothes.

Itm. a steyned cloith wight for sent Nicholas aulter w^t coronation of o^r lady & other seyntt^e marters.

Itm. for the high aulter a cloith of grene [& blew w^t byrdys and lyons to ly afor y^e Aw^d *added in a fifth hand*].

All thes cloithes lye uppon the [iij *altered to*] ij shelve next the copis in the nether vestre.

Itm. a steyned cloith of blew w^t dyvse seyntt^e gold and in the frontell the xij appostell^e hedde And longith to o^r lady aulter & lyith wrappid uppon a staife on the third prese be hynde the dore.

Itm. steyned cloithes complet for the sepult^r of dyvse colo^rs & ymagery w^t crounes of gold & lyith uppon the ij shelve bi the wyndows w^t lent vestmentt^e.

Fol. 25b]. Aulter Clothis.

Itm. a cloith for nether parte of the high aulter of blake bawdkyn powderd w^t lions of gold & blew lions & squerell^e.

Itm. a frontell of the colo^r & worke w^t a corse diap^r cloith sowid un to it.

Itm. a cloith for the neither parte of the high aulter of Rede bawdkyn powdered w^t gold and playn cloith sowd ther un to.

Itm. a frontell to the same of Rede bawdkyn w^t flowers of brodery worke. And a playn cloith sowid to the same.

All these lye in low awmbrey next the chymney in the high vestre.

¹ *At the foot of this page is written in a later hand: It. the laste yere was ljs the garderyng after eass^e day ljs ij^s & ij^s after dedecacion was xvjs & ix^d.*

Fol. 26a]. Myters & Crosiers.

- Itm. a myter of nedull worke of silver powdered w^t steres of gold & smale stones of dyv⁹se colo^rs and garnyshid w^t xxvij pec^l of silver & gilte. some set w^t stones & some enamelld & ij knoppis in the tope silver and gilte.
- Itm. a mytir of cloith of bawdkyn rede. the one side powdered w^t corse gold the other side garnyshid w^t ij brodered flowers.
- Itm. a myter of lether. paynted & gilte.
- Itm. a myter of parchmeñ silvered.
- Itm. a crossier hede of tymber gilte all w^t an ymage of sent Nycholas sitting and a toelly of diap^r of iij yard^l & dī longe.

All thes lye in the cheste w^t £ in the low vestre.

Fol. 26b]. *Blank.*

Fol. 27a]. Baner cloithis.

- Itm. a baner cloith steyned of the lyfe of sent peter of the gifte of Will^m Bacune hosier & Margaret his wife whos psons be peynted in it and frenged w^t silke rede wight & grene.
- Itm. aner [*sic*] cloith steyned of the lyfe of sent John baptiste garnyshid w^t wight grene yelow rede & blew silke. and sent Margaret. James. & Will^m in pendans peynted.
- Itm. a baner cloith of sent Anne litell gold in it frengid w^t threde wight rede & grene.
- Itm. a baner cloith paynted of thassumpcion of o^r lady no gold in it fregid [*sic*] w^t thred wight rede & grene.
- Itm. a baner cloith for the crose of grene sarsnet w^t sent peter gilte sitting in a troune frengid w^t silke of of dyv⁹se colo^rs.

Itm. an other of [fame *struck through*] sarsnet w^t armes of
Ingland frengid w^t silke for the crose.

Itm. an old wight baner cloith peynted w^t sent polle frengid
w^t thred.

Itm. an other of the same facion of sent peter.

Itm. ij baner cloithis paynted w^t droipis of rede And the
passione of crist[℥] armes & grene wrethis of the gifte
of Richard ferro^r¹ thei 3ve for passion sonday &c.

All thes baner cloithis lye uppon the upp more
prese in the low vestre.

Fol. 27b]. *Blank.*

Fol. 28a]. Baner staves.

Itm. under the copis in low vestre be v ij grene j rede ij wight
w^t rede droppis & silverd like spere hedd[℥].

Fol. 28b]. *Blank.*

Fol. 29a]. Nappery.

Itm. a towelly of diap^r corse worke of vij yerd[℥] &
ij q^urters longe dī yerd brode w^t an oliot hole in the
one end.

Itm. a towelly of diap^r good worke iiij yerd[℥] & q^urt^r
longe & ij q^urters brode w^t an oliot in the end &
a breke on the one eige a bought the mydd[℥].

Itm. a good towelly of diap^r ix yard[℥] longe ij q^urters
brode w^t i k at the one end And at ich end after the
blew cheyns playn cloith a hand bred.

Itm. a towelly of Rayns of ij yard[℥] ij q^urters longe not
fully dī yerd brode garnishid a bought the egg[℥] w^t redde
silke & grene And at ich end bird[℥] of rede silke &
gold it s'vith to bere the oile & creme at ester.

Itm. a towell of corse diap^r of vij yerds & ij q^urters
longe dī yard & more brode w^t a wight crose in the
one end.

¹ Alderman Richard Ferroure died in 1614.—Blomesfield, iv. 214.

- Itm. a towelly sore worne of diap^r iiij yerd℥ longe & q^uarter & dī yerd brode w^t a gret hoill the one end.
- Itm. a fyne towelly of diap^r of viij yerd℥ & iij q^uarter longe & more an iij q^uarters brode w^t a key in the one end.
- Itm. a towelly of diap^r goode of x yerd℥ & j q^uarter longe & more dī yerd brode w^t an oliot hole in the one end.
- Itm. a towelly of v yerd℥ & iij q^uarter long and iij q^uarter brode of diap^r sore worne & a gret hole in the mydd℥.
- Itm. a fyne towelly of Rayns of v yerd℥ iij q^uarters longe more the yerd brod & a seme ov⁹thawart in the mydd℥ w^t i & k in the one end.

Fol. 29b].

Nappery.

- Itm. a kercher cloith of fyn holon of as long as brod a yerd & dī q^uarter to see it shuld be a corporas [& y^t hath . . . In the one end *added in a later hand*].
- Itm. a towelly of diap^r xiiij yerd℥ longe not dī yerde brode w^t a blew thred sowd to the selfe egge on the ende.
- Itm. a playn aulter (*sic*) of ij yerd℥ & dī longe & yerd & more brode w^t [ij *altered to*] j oilliot holles [one of blewe the other *struck out*] of wight at the one end.
- Itm. a towelly of diap^r w^t brokune verges of v yerd℥ long & dī yerd brode.
- Itm. an aulter cloith of vj yerd℥ long & j yerde q^uarter brode of diap^r w^t an oliot of wight thred in thend.
- Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r of v yerd℥ dī longe & yerd q^uarter brode w^t [an J of rede silke in the end *struck out and*] A Peter key [*written over*].
- Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of iiij yerd℥ longe & yerd & q^uarter brode w^t an hedles crose of blew in the one end.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of v yerd^l longe & yerd & q^u-rt^l brode w^t a frence on thend of the same cloith.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of iiij yerd^l & iij q^u-rters longe & yerd & q^u-rt^l brode w^t a key of wight thred in the one end.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith of vj yerd^l long & yerd & q^u-rt^l brode sore worne.

Itm. a fyne cloith of diap^r of v yerd^l & q^u-rt^l longe & yerd & q^u-rt^l brode w^t an oliot of wight thred in the one end.

Itm. a playn aulter cloith of iiij yerd^l & q^u-rt^l longe & yerd brode w^t an oliot of [blewe *altered to*] wight thred [frenge*d added*].

[It s^tvoth to ley on y^e Aut^r on holy days, *added in a 3rd hand*].

Itm. a playn aulter cloith of v yerd^l & q^u-rt^l longe & yerd brode w^t an oliot of wight thred.

[Itm. a ffyn Awter Clothe of dyaper of vj yardis long & yard brod w^t a blewe marke In the on end & a ffrence on the other end *added in a third hand*.]

All thes lye in the chest w^t £ in the lower vestre.

Fol. 30a].

Nappery.

Itm. a towelly of diap^r of vj yerd^l & more longe dī yerd brode w^t ij knott^l at the one end.

Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r sore worne of ij yerd^l longe & yerd brode and more.

[It lyith in y^e awmbry be y^e chiny in a *third hand*].

Itm. a playn towelly of iiij yerd^l & q^u-rt^l longe & dī yerd brode w^t a blew oliot in the end.

Itm. a playn towelly of iij yerd^l & q^u-rt^l longe & dī yerd brode w^t a triangle of rede silke in the one ende.

Itm. a diap^r aulter cloith sore worne of iiij yerd^l & q^u-rt^l longe & j yerd & q^u-rt^l brode.

Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r sore worne of ij yerd^l longe & yerd^l & more brode w^t blew thred in the end.

Itm. an aulter cloith of diap^r of iij yerd^l dī longe & yerd^l brode.

Itm. a playn towelly of ij yerde dī long & dī yerd brode w' an oilliet hole of whight in thend.

Itm. a [*playn crossed out and*] pleyne [*written over*] towelly of ij yerde [*dyaper written over and struck through*] & dī longe & dī yerd brode w' a blew thred sown in a corn.

Itm. a towelly playn of iij yerde dī longe & iij q^urters brode sent peter is cheyn is wrapid in it.

Itm. a playn aulter cloith of ij yerde & dī longe & yerd & q^urtter brode w' a wight oliot hole in the end.

^{i i y'}
^{y y e}
^{ed}
rd Itm. a towelly of diap^r of vj yerde longe & not fully dī yerde brode, w' an M & an oliot hole of wight thred in the one end.

[*Added in a third hand*: It. a towely off dyaper ij yardys dī long & dī yard brod w' a wyth thred In the end.

It. A napkyn off dyaper ffor a wypyng towell to the hey Awter off A yard long].

All thes lye in the awmbry of napry in the upp vestre.

Fol. 30b. [*All in a third hand*: Napery.

att M It. a pleyne awter Clothe off ij yardys 3 longe & yard brod w' a blew oyllet In the end.

ⁱⁿ
ⁱⁿ It. a pleyne awter Clothe of iij yardys q^urt^r long & yard brod w' a oyllet off wyth In thend.

It. a pleyne awter Cloth off iij yardys iij q^urt^r long & yard brod w' a oyllet In thend.

It. a towelly off dyaper sore worne off ij yardys long & yard brod.

It. a towelly off dyaper off iij yard^r 3 long & 3 yard brod & more w' a oyllet In thend.

It. a towelle off dyaper off iij yardys long & q^urt^r brod & morre w' an oyllet off wyth In thend.

It. a towell off dyaper off iij yardys long & q^urt^r brod w' a gret holle In the end].

[*Added in another hand*: It. a Towell
 of Diaper of (*sic*) w^t a Jhc of blak } lengh v yard^e
 & silk longyng to Jhc. Messe } brede iij q^ut^e]

[*Added in another hand again*: It. a aw^l clothe Dyap of
 y^e gyft of John Newell whos name is wryttyn in the
 mydde of the cloth.

It. a aw^l cloth of Dyap of ye gyft of Wyflm Buntynge
 for o^r ladys aw^l & hys name is wryttyn
 at y^e one ende].

[*Added in another hand*: It. a Towell of the Gyft of
 Debell Yxforth ffor a howselyn Towell w^t a Tolye].
 [Ale thes In the ower Westry *in the third hand*].

Fol. 31a]. [*Still in the third hand*: Napery.

It. A ffyne awter Clothe off dyaper off v yardys q^u long
 & yard 3 brod w^t a wyth ollyet In the end.

It. an awte Ter (*sic*) Clothe off pleyn Clothe off v yardys &
 q^ut long & yard brod w^t a wyth oylet In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe off iij yardys & q^ut long and
 yard brod w^t an oylet & a blew thred In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe ffyne off v yardys q^ut long &
 yard brod & more w^t a wyth thred In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe off v yardys long & yard brod
 w^t a wyth oylet In the end.

It. a pleyn wter Clothe off v yardys q^u long w^t a seme
 In the medys & yard brod and more & a oylet In the end.

It. a pleyn awter Clothe off iiij yardys q^ut long & yard
 brod w^t a (blew *corrected to*) whyte oyllet In the end].

[It. (ij *altered to*) j Awter Clothys (*altered to* Clothe) off
 pleyne¹ Cloth on off v yardys long and anthe of v
 yard^e halffe *all struck through and* Ric petyt hath
 y^t i kepyng *added in margin in another hand*] [&
 he hath lost it & paid for it to the Chirchereves xx^d
added in another hand].

¹ "diap" written over.

[*Added in another hand:*

ffyrst y^o ys xij awt^l clothes off dyaper.

It. xiiij¹ playne awt^l clothes.

It. xix Towellys of dyap.

It. vij Towellys playne.

Sm^a to^l
liij² pesys].

[*Added in another hand:* Itm. iiij wypyng Napkyns to
leye on the awters].

[*In the third hand:* Ale thys ly In the nether Westry].

Fol. 31b. *Blank.*

In the earlier hand throughout the book:

Fo. 32a]. Lumber tymber.

Itm. vj wight paxis w^t grene crossis paynted s'vyng for
lent & hange on a streyng bi the uppmore shelve in
the low vestre.

Itm. a trestell w^t steppis.

Itm. vij smale candelstik^l silverd & gilte
for cristmase day.

Itm. vj cases for chales of wikers.

Itm. a thyng callyd Judas w^t prikkett^l for
candell^l uppon tenable days/stondyng
behynd the chest w^t 3.

under the
shelves
in the
low vestre.

Itm. a grene crose w^t iiij ev^gelist^l gilte for
ester morow in the resurrection.

Itm. a frame like a sheren for the sacra-
ment uppon palme sonday.

ov^o the p^lssis
be hynd the
dore in the
low vestre.

Itm. iij palmis for p^lst decon & subdecon one pawme
sonday lyyng uppon the selyng ov^o the copis in
the low vestre.

Itm. ij supaltares of merble framemed [*sic*] in tymber
the one holl the other broke under the pressis in the
low vestre.

Fol. 32b]. *Blank.*

¹ ² Written over an erasure.

Fol. 33a]. [*In the fourth hand*: Schettys.

It. a peyr off ffynne schettys one of iij yardys & the other
off ij yardys & iij q~t℥ long.

Alle thes lythe In the nether Westry].¹

Fol. 33b]. [*A pen trial*: Be it knowē to all mē by this
psent wrytyng].

Besides the English inventory printed above there exist two Latin ones of much earlier date. These are contained in a manuscript volume, now in the Public Record Office, known as Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer Miscellaneous Book, No. 30. It has no original title, but from internal evidence seems to be a record of the Visitations of William Swinfield, archdeacon of Norwich 1361-1387, and his two immediate successors. An English version of the inventories of the Norwich churches in the MS. forms the subject of a paper by the late Mr. Henry Harrod in a former volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*,² but the Latin originals do not seem to have been printed.

The manuscript in question contains two inventories of the goods and ornaments of the church of St. Peter Mancroft: one, early in the volume; the other, ten leaves further on. Unfortunately, neither is dated.

From internal evidence the second is the earlier, and it is perhaps made up from still older lists. It begins with a catalogue, ranging from books and vestments to the font and bier, apparently of such ornaments as the parishioners were bound to provide under the constitution of Archbishop Robert of Winchelsey, in 1305.³ These are followed, in the same hand, by a number of items, in part contributed (*ex collacione*) by various donors, and in part, apparently,

¹ *Written across the page in another hand is*: It. the goddyeryng att ea℥ day last past ti ij* & candelmas day xvij*.

² Vol. v. 89-121.

³ W. Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. *De ecclesiis edificandis* (London, 1505), f. cxxxvij.

provided by the parish, since they include *inter alia* a cross and two banners not entered in the first list. The way in which these items are written down is strongly suggestive of an older list with added entries having been transcribed into the volume under notice.

A comparison of the list thus far with that in the constitution of Archbishop Robert shews that the parishioners had more than done their duty as regards the greater number of ornaments, a vessel for holy water, a pax, and a paschal candlestick being the only omissions, besides the bells and images, which it may not have been thought necessary to include. The inventory also contains so many more books and vestments than the prescribed *minima*, as well as other ornaments, that the church may be fairly said to have been decently furnished. The list is, unfortunately, so little else than a mere catalogue that it is hardly worth while analyzing it.

To the original list several additional entries have been made. The first specifies a number of ornaments significantly described as *collata per parochianos*. The next records the gift of a holy water vessel and three sprinklers. Then follow a number of other contributions, and the list concludes with a memorandum touching the appointment of the two chaplains of two chantries founded by John Cosyn in 1338. The added entries are a little fuller in detail than the first list.

The text of the inventory is as follows:

SANCTI PETRI DE MANCROFT. f. 14 b].	{	Estimacio ejusdem xxv m ^r . Porcio Abbatis [<i>in margin</i> Porcio] Gloucesterie in eadem vj. m ^r . synod Michaelis jd. ob. Synod Pasche jd. ob. [<i>added in margin</i> : Pensio domini archidiaconi xl. d.].
---	---	--

Ornamenta ecclesia [*sic*] j ordinale iij antiphonaria legenda
temporum et sanctorum in uno volumine. Martilogium

cum ympñ · v · Palteria [*sic*] · ij manualia ij processionalia ij missalia iij gradalia · ij · troparij v · paria vestimentorum cum ij tuniculis et ij dalmaticis vij cape chori vj · linthiamina · iij · manutergia · ij · frontella · ij · corporalia · iij calices argenti · ij pelves [*argenteæ written over*] iij · Phiole · ij auricularia ij candelabra stannee velum xl° xij superpellicia ij Rochetta · iij superaltaria ij ciste ad vestimenta iij · tortices portatiles¹ campana manualis lucerna turribulum spurula² ij pixides eukariste crismatorium et baptisterium sub serure feretrum Palterium [*sic*] ex collacione Christiane de Burwode j missale ex collacione Thome del Jewrye j bibblia legenda sanctorum ex collacione domini Ade nuper Capellani parochialis. Cupa argentea et deaurata ex collacione Willelmi de Wymondham. Palterium [*sic*] ex collacione Willelmi de Creyk una casula tunica et dalmatica ex collacione Johannis de Henney · j portiforium. Item ij tunice vj pulvinaria una crux argenti vij tapeta iij palla · j · vestimentum cum tunica dalmatica · j · linthiamen j · frontellum j calix argenti et deaurati ex collacione Johannis Hert̃ ij vexilla j casula alba amita cum paruris stola fanone cum ij · tuallis ex collacione Willelmi de Blakene. Item j manutergium. Item j Cupa argenti et deaurata ex collacione Ricardi de Byteryng et sunt in eadem ecclesia.

Added in another hand :

Item · ij · phiole argenti ij candelabra argenti · j · turribulum argenti cum spurula argenti collata per parochianos.
Item. item.

Added in another hand :

Item unum vas pro aqua benedicta cum · iij · isopis de

¹ Tapers to bear in processions.

² I am unable to find this word *spurula* in any available dictionary, but by a process of comparison and exhaustion, it clearly means an incense ship.

laton ex collacione Roberti Estoft et Alicie uxoris ejus.

Added in another hand:

Item habent unum vestimentum integrum cum capa blodij¹ coloris cum lebbard² de auro ex dono Isabelle Wynde.

Item duas capas chori rubeique coloris ex collacione ejusdem Isabelle.

Item unum antiphonarium magnum et novum ex collacione Johannis Harleston.

Item aliud antiphonarium ex collacione Thome Warner.

Item unum crismatorium novum de argento et in parte deaurato ex dono Johannis Greyne.

Added in another hand:

j processionale ex collacione Elene Harleston.

Added in another hand:

Item Johannes Cosyn fundavit ibidem ij cantarias perpetuas ij capellanorum iij Kalendas Januarij anno m^occcxxxviiij proficiend³ dicti capellani per Priorem et Capitulum ecclesie Cathedralis Norvicensis infra xv dies a tempore mortis cessionis seu amocionis hujusmodi computandos [subsequetur *struck out*] alioquin loci diccessionis vel ipso absente officii ejus quam pro tempore fuerit extunc cessante impedimento hinc quamque de hujusmodi capellanis se capellano dicte cantarie infra alios xv dies provideat illa vice quod si infra tempus illud per episcopum vel ejus Officium nunc provideri contigerit huic provisio ad dictos priorem et capitulum iterato devolvatur similiter infra aliorum xv dierum spacium facianda provisio et sic de capellano ad episcopum et ecclesiam, etc.

The later list differs considerably from the older, firstly in length, secondly in being throughout of one date and in one hand, and thirdly in greater fulness. It is, unfortunately,

¹ *Blodius* = blue.

not easy, owing to the baldness of the former list, to collate the one with the other, and beyond some of the pieces of plate and a few of the books it cannot be said which entries correspond.

The inventory under notice begins with an enumeration of the vestments, most of which seem to have been of rich material. Of suits¹ there were five, including a principal one of blue velvet powdered with gold angels, a striped, a white, and a black suit, each of cloth of gold, and a fifth of green cloth of silk. The first four suits also had each a cope. Four other suits, three of them gifts, are also entered: one of red cloth of gold of Cyprus, another per pale red and blue, a third of red silk, each with its cope, and a fourth of green silk cloth rayed.

Of single vestments there were nine: one of gold cloth powdered with gold stags, a second of white cloth diapered (perhaps for Lent), a third of red with gold eagles and stars, a fourth of black sendal for mass of requiem, a fifth of white cloth for commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, two others of red, an eighth of silk cloth for ferials, and a ninth of velvet "cum checkery." Many of these had albes belonging to them, and there were also two special albes, one with red velvet apparels powdered with gold butterflies, the other with apparels of red cloth of gold.

Besides the seven copes already mentioned there was an eighth "paulede," powdered with dolphins. Also two quire copes of green, and two others of red cloth of gold, probably for the chanters or *rectores chori*.

The list which follows, of hangings and cloths for the high altar, shows that it had only two sets: one of cloth of gold, the other of black cloth of gold. The one had also a frontel, but the black set had three; it is, therefore,

¹ A suit included a chasuble, a dalmatic and tunicle, and the three albes (and probably the amices, girdles, stoles, and fanons to match), and generally a cope.

somewhat uncertain whether *frontellum* has the same meaning in this inventory as in the English one.

The plate comprised a principal and two other chalices for the high altar, two chalices for ordinary use (*pro communitate*), and another assigned to the altar of the Holy Trinity, otherwise called "Hilbrondes auter."

The three "coupes" were probably pixes for the Reserved Sacrament.

The other silver ornaments were two "chargeours" or basons, a pair of candlesticks (*candelabra*), two censers and their ships, a cross, a sprinkler, and two cruets.

The "laton" or brass ware consisted of a chrismatory, two pair of portable candlesticks, a cross, two censers, a desk, and two "coupes" or pixes *pro corpore Christi*. There were also two candlesticks of pewter (*de stangno*).

The bells comprised two great and two small, probably in the steeple; two little bells for funerals, a very small bell, and another bell called "sacryng bell."

Five silk pillows and the Lenten veil are also noted.

The list of books is a fairly full one. It begins with a new massbook given under certain specified conditions, followed by a massbook for the high altar, and two others *pro communitate*. Then come a manual, three grails, and as many processionars, two ordinals and a bible, and for the hour services a *legenda aurea*, another *de temporalibus*, and a *legenda sanctorum*, two great and two little portoses, two great antiphonars or anthem books, a collectar, and three psalters; also a new and an old martyrology.

The inventory concludes with three short lists of special ornaments.

The first contains the ornaments for the feasts of the Holy Innocents and St. Nicholas, for the use of the boy bishop and his mates. They include complete suits for the bishop, deacon, and sub-deacon, four copes for boys, and a

mitre of great price and a crosier; also a set of coverings and curtains for the altar of St. Nicholas.

The second list specifies the ornaments for the chapel of the Blessed Mary, comprising four sets of vestments for the chaplain, four linen altar cloths, four towels, two silk cushions, a chalice, a massbook, a white frontal, etc. and another painted one for the altar, three corporases, a pix, four "pilwes," a chained portose, and two costers or ridels, also for the altar.

The third list is that of the ornaments of John Cosyn's chantry, founded as aforesaid in 1338. It included a chalice given by the founder, a massbook, and a portose, two vestments for each chaplain, two linen altar cloths, and a towel, two cruets, a surplice, and a corporas.

The text of the inventory is as follows:

SANCTI PETRI DE MANCROFT. f. 2 b.]	{	Estimacio ejusdem xxv m ^r . Porcio Abbatis Gloucestrie in eadem vj. m ^r . Synod Michaelis jd. ob. Synod Pasche jd. ob. Pensio domini archidiaconi iijs. iiijd.
--	---	--

Ornamenta ejusdem [ejusdem *written again and struck out*] ecclesie.

Inprimis unum vestimentum principale de blewe velwet pulverizat⁵ cum angelis de auro videlicet una capa · una casula · duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum paulede de panno aureo et de serico scilicet una capa · un [sic] casula · duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de panno albo et de auro videlicet una capa · una casula · duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de nigro panno de auro scilicet capa casula duo tunicula et tria alba.

- Item unum vestimentum de viridi panno de serico scilicet casula duo tunicula et unum album.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno aureo pulverizat^o cum Cervis de auro videlicet casula et duo alba.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno albo diapred · videlicet una casula et unum album de dono Johannis Wodeward capallani.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno rubeo et serico pulverizat^o cum aquilis et stellis de auro scilicet casula et unum album.
- Item unum vestimentum de nigro sendell pro defunctis pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno rubeo aureo pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno albo pro uno capellano pro commemoratione beate marie virginis.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno rubeo de Tarse pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum vestimentum de panno de Serico pro ferialibus pro uno Capellano.
- Item unum album cum paruris de rubeo velvet · pulverizat^o cum Boterfleyes de auro.
- Item unum album cum paruris de rubeo panno de auro.
- Item una capa paulede pulverizata cum dolfynes.
- Item due Cape de panno viridi de auro pro choro.
- Item due cape de panno rubeo de auro pro choro.
- Item de dono domine Alicie Skeet unum vestimentum de panno rubeo aureo de Ciprys cum orfreys de passione domini · scilicet · una capa · una casula · duo tunicula · et tria alba.
- Item de dono Willelmi Rys unum vestimentum bipartitum de rubeo panno serico et blewe · scilicet · una capa · una casula duo tunicula tria alba.
- Item de dono pro animabus Walteri de Bonewell et Alicie uxoris sue · unum vestimentum de rubeo serico · cum

orfreys de stellis de auro · scilicet · una capa · una casula duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de viridi panno serico stragulato cum orfreys de Gryffons · scilicet · una casula duo tunicula et tria alba.

Item unum vestimentum de velvet cum chekery pro uno capellano.

f. 3] Item unus pannus aureus cum uno frontello pro summo altari.

Item unus pannus niger aureus cum tribus frontellis pro summo altari.

Item tria peff de serico pro summo altari.

Item iiij^{or} bona linthiamina pro summo altari.

Item iiij^{or} simpliciora linthiamina pro summo altari.

Item iiij^{or} vexilla.

Item duo panni pro amboñ.

Item ij tapet^l cum ij bankers.

Item unum principale corporale.

Item quinque alia corporalia pro summo altari.

Item unus principalis calix pro summo altari de dono Willelmi Carletoñ.

Item duo calices pro summo altari.

Item duo calices pro communitate.

Item unum Coupe ex collacione Magistri Ade Devenport Rectoris.

Item duo coupes de argento deaurato.

Item duo chargeours argent^l.

Item duo candelevra argentea.

Item unus calix de argento ex collacione Roberti de Dereham le Cook assignatus parochi ad deserviendum altare sancte Trinitatis aliter dictum Hilbrondes auter.

Item unum thuribulum cum navi de argento.

Item unum thuribulum cum navi argenti deaurati ex

collacione Johannis Latymer et uxoris ejus habens
sex capita leonum ad fumum evacuandum.

Item una crux argentea.

Item unum aspersorium de argento.

Item ij phiole de argento.

Item unum Crismatorium de laton.

Item ij candelevra de stangno.

Item ij paria candelevra portatilia de laton.

Item una crux de laton.

Item duo thuribula de laton.

Item unum lectrinum de laton ex collacione Willelmi
Blakenee.

Item duo coupes de laton pro corpore Christi.

Item ij magne campane.

Item ij parve campane.

Item ij parve campane pro defunctis.

Item unum tintinabulum [*sic*].

Item una campana vocata Sacryng bell.

Item v pilwes de serico.

Item unum velum xl^{to}.

Item unum novum missale ex collacione Johannis Latymer
et Margarete uxoris sue sub condicione quod eadem
Margareta habeat unum aliud missale ecclesie predictae
ad terminum vite sue pro capellanis suis. Ita quod
post ejus decessu predictum missale eidem Margarete
liberatum dicte ecclesie remaneat imperpetuum.

Item unum missale pro summo altari cum omnibus Gloria
in excelsis per annum in principio ejusdem et iij
novis quaternis in fine libri predicti.

Item duo missalia pro communitate unum de dono Thome
de Jury cujus nomen intitulatur in principio libri
habens tres quaternos novos in fine et aliud missale
habet iij^{or} quaternos novos in medio.

Item unum manuale cum placebo in principio et Com-
memoracio beate Marie Virginis scilicet *Salve sancta
parens* in fine.

- Fol. 3 b]. Item unum gradale novum ex collacione magistri Rogeri Middelton cujus nomen scribitur in principio et Sequencia · scilicet · *Verbum bonum* in fine.
- Item duo nova gradalia ex collacione Johannis Latymer cujus nomen intitlatur in principio librorum · quorum unum terminatur per missam sponsalium et aliud terminatur per missam sancti lini pape.
- Item tria processionalia.
- Item duo ordinalia quorum unum in magno volumine cum Tonalī in fine et aliud minoris voluminis cum omnibus Kyrye qualiter dici debent per annum.
- Item una biba [*sic*] que finitur cum una addicione que sic incipit *Attende secundum Eusebium*.
- Item una legenda aurea que finitur secundum vitam sancti Ignacij cum hac clausula *Si quis tamen incideret puniretur*.
- Item una legenda de temporali in magno volumine habens in fine septimam lectionem sancti Silvestri pape.
- Item una legenda sanctorum que finitur cum tribus lectionibus ultimis de sancto Ambrosio.
- Item duo portiforia in magnis voluminibus quorum unum habet quaternum novum cum dimidio · inter temporale et Kalendaꝝ et in fine libri servicium de corpore Christi sine nota et aliud habet quaternum novum cum dimidio in medio libri et in fine unum parvum tonale.
- Item duo portiforia in ij parvis voluminibus . quorum [unum *omitted*] habet in medio diversos quaternos et aliud habet diversa venite in fine.
- Item duo antiphonaria in magnis voluminibus quorum unum habet quaternum novum cum dimidio inter Kalendaꝝ et sanctorum et aliud habet diversos quaternos novos cum diversis addicionibus in medio ante Kalendaꝝ.
- Item unum collectarium habens unam literam Capitaalem de auro et aliam literam capitaalem de argento.

- Item tria psalteria · quorum primum incipit cum servicio
 Corporis Christi secundum habet in fine placebo et
 dirige et tercium habet omnes lecciones de com-
 memoracione beate Marie virginis per totum annum.
 Item unum Martilogium novum.
 Item unum aliud Martilogium vetus.

Ornamenta pro festo sanctorum

Innocencium et sancto Nicholai.

- Inprimis unum vestimentum de panno de serico · scilicet
 una casula · ij tunicula · una Capa · tria alba.
 Item iiij^{or} Cape pro pueris.
 Item una mitra magni precij cum baculo pastorali.
 Item pro altari sancti Nicholai tria fruntella cum lin-
 thiaminibus.
 Item quatuor panni cum iiij^{or} Ridellys pro dicto altari.

Fol. 4]. Ornamenta pro Capella beate Marie.

- Inprimis quatuor vestimenta pro uno capellano.
 Item quatuor linthiamina pro altari.
 Item iiij^{or} manutergia.
 Item duo peti de Serico.
 Item unus calix.
 Item unum missale.
 Item unus pannus de albo cum tapeto et fruntello.
 Item unus pannus depictus cum frontello.
 Item tria corporalia.
 Item j pixis.
 Item iiij^{or} pilwes.
 Item unum portiforium ligatum cum cathenis.
 Item duo custodes pro altari.

Ornamenta Cantarie Johannis Cosyn.

- Inprimis unum missale ex collacione domini Walteri Leef
 Capellani.
 Item unum portiforium.

Item unus calix argenti ex collacione Johannis Cosyn.

Item duo vestimenta pro singulis Capellanis.

Item duo linthiamina et unum manutergium.

Item ij fiole et unum superpellicium et unum corporale.

The list of the goods of the church of St. Peter Mancroft which was no doubt made in 1552, with those of other Norwich churches,¹ with a view to their shameful confiscation, not from any religious motives, but "forasmuche as the Kinges Majestie had need presently of a masse of mooney,"² is unfortunately missing. The only document of the time is a memorandum of the total amount of plate sold, apparently in the year 1547. This has been printed before,³ but with a serious error in the total. It is therefore here reprinted from the original in the Public Record Office.

The pish of	} Richard braye	} churchwardens.	
seint Peter of			John Carre
Mancroft in			John Blome
Norwich			George Walder

We certifie that by the consent and assent of
thole pish we have sold in plate
gilt and parcell gilt eight hundreth } Ciiij^{xx} xix^{li} xix^o iiij^d.
and lvij onc' at iiij^o viij^d le onc' Sm^a }

The which Sm^a of monye remayneth
in oure hand^e to do such necessary
reparacons as be nedefull to be doen

by me Johu Blome By me George Walder.

¹ See *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii. 45, for those of St. Andrew and St. Mary Coslany. In both cases "ready money" forms the first item on the list of spoil.

² *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, edited by John Roche Dasent (London, 1890), N.S. iii. (1550-1552), 228.

³ In *Norfolk Archaeology*, vi. 365.

Female Head-dresses exemplified by Norfolk Brasses.

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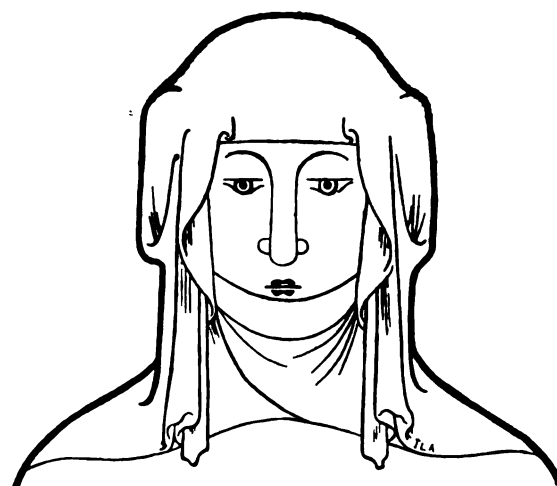
J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

THE unbroken record which monumental brasses present of the variations in costume occurring during the Middle Ages, is one of their most interesting and valuable features, and, in comparison with other lands, England is especially happy in this respect, that our country possesses so many examples of these works of monumental art, that it might truly be called "the land of brasses." Norfolk, and the east of England especially, can boast of a large number of these ancient memorials, and possess several which, more than elsewhere, show peculiarities which prove them to be of local manufacture.

The oldest brass of a female now remaining in our country is at Trotton in Sussex, and 1310 in date, whilst in Norfolk the earliest is the figure of Margaret de Walsoken, at the church of St. Margaret at Lynn, dated 1349. This, although of Flemish execution, shows the lady in a head-dress resembling that exhibited by English brasses of corresponding date, the hair being gathered up in broad plaits, or braids, on either side of the face, a veil being thrown over the head, and which, hanging over the forehead, falls behind on to the shoulders. This veil it was customary to keep in its place by pins, as may be seen on

the sculptured effigy of a lady, supposed of the Gerbrigge family, at Wickhampton. Lastly, the throat of Margaret de Walsoken is enveloped in a whimple, or gorget, and, respecting this article of dress, Quicherat, a French writer on costume, cites several instances how, in that language, up to the seventeenth century the word *gorgerette* or gorget having become *gorgias*, "engendered a whole family of words," including nouns, an adverb, and a verb, and he concludes by saying that "the English have still this expression, which came to them from us—*gorgeous*, that is to say, gaudy, ostentatious.—*Costume en France*, p. 309.

To return from the above digression, in the same church of St. Margaret's, Lynn, are the large figures of Robert Braunche and his wives Leticia and Margaret, dated 1364.



MARGARET BRAUNCHE.

LYNN 1364.

Here the hair of the ladies is entirely hidden, and the gorgets cover the chin as well as the throat. These gorgets were of fine white linen, but were occasionally dyed with saffron.

Formerly there was at Ingham the brass of Joan, wife of Sir Miles Stapleton, also dated 1364. Her effigy showed the hair beneath a veil, and the head encircled with a fillet, the tresses being braided and kept in place by long pins. About 1380 in date are two interesting brasses of ladies at Felbrigg, commemorating Alice and Elizabeth, the wives of Symond de Felbrig, and of his son, Roger de Felbrig. Here the first-named lady wears a crimped or goffered cap, covering the forehead, and a veil is over the head and shoulders. The second lady introduces us to the



ALICE & ELIZABETH DE FELBRIGG.
FELBRIGG c. 1380.

remarkable nebulée or reticulated head-dress, in which the hair is encircled in a thin net, shown by a series of wavy or, to use the heraldic term, "nebulée" lines, which in this case form three divisions. A veil is not always shown with this form of coiffure, but here we perceive one attached to the back of the head. Sometimes the hair was only partially hidden in this net, the ends of the tresses being caught up in two smaller ones, resting on the

shoulders, and occasionally the lines of the large net are of a zigzag form, as may be seen on the brass of Ismayne, wife of William de Wynston, at Necton, and dated 1372. Another example of the reticulated head-dress occurs on the figure of Cecilia, wife of Sir William Kerdeston, at Reepham, 1391 in date.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century, several types of head-dress appear to have been equally in fashion, and the sculptured effigy of Lady Margaret de Bois, *circa* 1380, at Ingham, has a form of head attire, seen occasionally on brasses, in which the hair is gathered up and hidden under a turban-like structure covered with network, and to which a short veil is attached.

Necton possesses the brass of Philippa de Beauchamp, dated 1383. It shows her in a widow's dress, and will be treated of further on when the subject of widows and vowesses is discussed. An engraving of this brass will be found in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xii. p. 298.

At Southacre the figure of Katharine, wife of Sir John Harsick, 1384, has no whimple or veil, but shows the hair of the scalp, surmounted by a richly-ornamented fillet, whilst the tresses are formed into stiff braids. Similar fillets or coronets were often richly jewelled.¹

A form of head attire, which lasted during the greater part of the fourteenth century, and continued into the middle of the fifteenth, was the crespine, or crestine, variety, in which the hair was confined inside nets of brass or golden wire, a fashion which was not unknown to the Greek and Roman ladies of antiquity; and these cauls were often ornamented with jewels or pearls at the intersections of the meshes. A good example of this head-dress is furnished by the figure of Margaret, wife of Sir Simon Felbrigg, 1416, at Felbrigg, where the hair is seen gathered

¹ Engraved in Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i. p. clvii.

up into oblong-shaped cauls of rich network, and edged with an ornamental border, which is continued across the forehead, a veil covering the head and falling gracefully on the shoulders. A sculptured effigy at Ashwelthorpe, of



MARGARET FELBRIGG.
FELBRIGG . 1416.

Joan, wife of Sir Edmund de Thorp, of about the same date, shows similar cauls, but of much greater projection; and the brass of Alice de Uvedale, wife of Ralph Shelton, about 1430, at Snoring, shows pads of plaited work, over which is a goffered veil.¹

The gorget was now discarded from the married woman's attire, and confined to that of widows and vowesses, an example of which was to be seen on the brass, now lost, of Lady Ela, widow of Sir Miles Stapleton, *circa* 1425, at Ingham, and which forms plate 20 in Cotman's work on *Norfolk Brasses*.

¹ Engraved in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iii. p. 86.

But, although we find many instances of gorgeous head-dresses on the brasses of fashionable and noble ladies, we meet with others which indicate a more sober and unostentatious attire, as may be seen on the brasses of ladies, *circa* 1410, at St. Stephen's, Norwich¹; at Frettenham, *circa* 1440; and at St. George's Colegate, Norwich, 1461; in all of which a simple veil forms the most prominent feature. A plain coiffure may also be noticed on the effigy of a lady, *circa* 1450, at Stalham.



A LADY.
STALHAM ca 1450.

Hoods probably formed articles of feminine apparel at all times; and we have a letter, about 1449 in date, of the Norfolk lady, Margaret Paston, written to her husband, John Paston, whilst he was probably either in Norwich or London, and in which she desires him to "bye a zerd (yard) of brode clothe of blac for an hode for me of xliiii^d or iiiii^d a zerd."²

¹ Engraved in Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i. p. ccx.

² *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 83, ed. Gairdner.

A remarkable development of the crespine head-dress resulted in that of the horned or mitred one, in which the crespines or cauls were gradually raised higher and higher above the head. An engraving in Cotman (plate 22) of the brass of Cecilia, wife of Sir Brian Stapleton, 1438, formerly at Ingham, gives an example of this fashion, and another still exists at Shernbourne, on the memorial of Jamina, wife of Sir Thomas de Shernborne, 1458, in which she appears in a perfectly plain coiffure of this style. A fine instance of it occurred on the brass, now lost, of a lady, *circa* 1460, at St. Mary Coslany, Norwich, and in which the enriched cauls were composed of perpendicular



MATILDA DOUGHTY.

METTON 1493.



AGNES GREEN.

HUNSTANTON, *cà* 1490.

divisions. The figure of Matilda, wife of Robert Doughty, 1493, at Metton, shows a slightly horned head gear with an elaborately plaited veil.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century another striking fashion was introduced, namely, the butterfly head-dress, in which the side cauls disappear, and the hair is strained back and gathered up into a larger one or bonnet, leaving the ears exposed, and over which bonnet was stretched a structure of fine lawn, supported by wires. It was early distinguished by the name by which it is still known, as Paradin, a French writer of the period tells us. "By some people," he says, "they were named big butterflies, for they had two large wings, here and there, like the wings of butterflies." This extravagant fashion was much affected by ladies of rank, and may be seen on the portrait of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, forming the frontispiece to the second volume of Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*. It appears also in a representation of Anne, Queen of



JOHANNA CLEDEROW.

NEW WALSINGHAM. 1509.

ANNE HERWARD.

ALDBOROUGH. 1485.

Richard III., decorating the *Warwick Roll*. This head-dress, as figured on the above examples, is a light and airy structure, but on brasses this could not be successfully

rendered, although pains were taken to exhibit the ample wings, for which purpose the figures of ladies were usually turned sideways.

An early approach to the butterfly head-dress was to be seen on the brass of Lady Curzon, 1471, formerly at Belaugh, and in which the back bonnet and a simple veil appear, the latter being extended by wires. Examples in the height of this fashion are to be seen on the brasses of Margaret, wife of Rauf Wyllughby, 1483, at Raveningham; of Ann, wife of Robert Herward, 1485, at Aldborough; of Isabella, wife of William Cheyne, of the same date, at Blickling; and of Margery, wife of Philip Bosard, 1490,



ELIZABETH BERNEY.

REEDHAM. 1474.

at Ditchingham. A curious instance of this attire occurs on the effigy of Elizabeth, wife of John Berney, 1474, at Reedham, it being totally unlike the ordinary form, having a kind of frontlet, as well as the large wings. Agnes, wife

of Edmund Grene, on their brass, *circa* 1490, at Hunstanton, wears a peculiar head gear, consisting of a perfectly plain bonnet, with an equally unadorned veil, which fits tightly round the forehead. Perhaps this was a local custom.

In mediæval head-dresses we frequently find that one fashion overlapped another, so that old and new styles are to be observed on different effigies of the same period.

At Ketteringham, Jone, wife of Sir Henry Grey, Knight, 1492, is seen in a plain veil over slightly raised peaks at the top of the head, whilst two ladies at East Tuddenham, *circa* 1495, appear with a very peculiar arrangement of veil, which seems to be supported by wires, so as to form a kind of canopy.

At the close of the fifteenth century, whilst the hair continued to be confined in a bonnet, the butterfly wings were discarded, and a stiff frontlet placed before the caul, or bonnet. This head-dress is known as the kennel, pedimental, or diamond shaped. An early example occurs on the figure of Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Clere, at Stokesby, 1488, on which her bonnet is not of the usual form, but appears to be gathered up to a point, which ends in a button, in the shape of a rose. The same feature on the effigy of Elizabeth, wife of William Berdewell, at West Harling, appears to be of fur, and there is a frontlet, but not of the kennel fashion. Other examples of this century are at Narborough, on the brass of Ele, wife of Henry Spelman, 1496, where the lappets are unusually wide; at Great Cressingham, on that of Thomasine, wife of Richard Ryshe, 1497, and at Ketteringham, on that of Anne, wife of Thomas Heveningham, of the same date, where the bonnet and frontlet are both richly worked.

The kennel head-dress was worn almost exclusively, and with little variation, during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, and there are probably more examples

of it on brasses than of any other form. Both lappets and bonnets are mentioned in some wills, as in that of the Margaret Paston before alluded to. It is dated 24 Nov., 1504, and in it she leaves to her daughter, Margaret Browne, her "fruntelet of purpill velvet," and also her "fruntelet of crymson velvet," whilst to her daughter, Elizabeth Whynburgh, is bequeathed another frontlet of crimson velvet, and to her daughter, Anne Lemner, her "best bonnet."¹

As indicated above, the frontlet and the bonnet were separate articles of attire, and both were supported on wire framework. A curious combination of the butterfly and pedimental head-dress occurs on the brass of Johanna, wife of Henry Clederow, 1509, at New Walsingham, where the



ANNE PAGRAVE.

BARNINGHAM NORTHWOOD.

1516.



ANNE DUKE.

FRENZE.

1551.

bonnet is enriched, but the frontlet is plain. The reverse of this is seen on the figure of Ann, wife of Henry

¹ *Paston Letters*, vol. iii. p. 470.

Paggrave, 1516, at Barningham Northwood. Plain pedimental head-dresses are met with on brasses of ladies at Blickling, 1512, and at Feltwell and Merton, both dated 1520. At Frenze is the brass of a widow, Jane Blennerhassett, 1521, where we find, as in other examples, that the lappets and back veil to the bonnet have been filled in with colour. Later examples of the diamond-shaped head-dress are at St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1524; Shotesham, 1528; and Weston, 1533.



There was formerly at St. Mary's, Lambeth, Surrey, a brass commemorating Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, 1545, and who was shown in a kennel head-dress of rich character, but above which was placed, in a most uncomfortable manner, a ducal coronet. An engraving of this memorial will be found in *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. viii. p. 40.

Among the numerous brasses at Frenze, is one representing Ann, wife of George Duke, 1551, where the peak and

lappets of the head-dress are curved inwards, and to one of the latter a jewel is suspended, a feature not often met with, but which occurs on a monumental effigy at Goudhurst, Kent, of about the same date, and where each lappet has a cameo, set in gold, fixed to it. Ann Duke, it may be observed, is commemorated on another brass, dated 1577, at St. Margaret's, Norwich, in which she wears a Mary Stuart coiffure.

A remarkably plain variation of the kennel head-dress is seen on the brass of Magdalen, wife of John Hook, 1513, at Sheringham, and is similar to one at Billingshurst, Sussex, dated 1499. Another plain head-dress is



MAGDALEN HOOK.
SHERINGHAM, 1513.

met with on the brass of a female, about 1540 in date, at New Walsingham, and consists of a caul, or cap, over which is a plain hood.



A LADY,
NEW WALSINGHAM, ca. 1540.



A LADY,
SNETTISHAM, ca. 1670.

Probably the long lappets of the kennel head-dress were found inconvenient, and about 1540 or 1550 began to be pinned up, and gradually the kennel head-dress merged into the one known as the Paris head, French hood, or Marie Stuart. This variety, although not prevalent until the middle of the sixteenth century, was used at Court long before, for Hall the chronicler states that when Henry VIII. kept Christmas at Greenwich, in 1515, there was a pageant, in which six ladies took part with French hoods on their heads. At first the old peak of the pedimental head-dress was retained, as may be noticed in portraits by Holbein of the Queens Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour.¹ An example of the Stuart head gear may be seen on the brass of Anne, wife of Sir Christopher Heydon, 1561, at Baconsthorpe, and in which we find the hair, after its long concealment, again permitted to appear on the

¹ Engraved in Lodge's *Portraits*, vol. i. plates 8 and 9.

heads of married women. The brass of Margaret, wife of Edmund Hunt, 1568, at Hindolvestone, shows a simple veil thrown over the head and shoulders, probably indicating a kind of widow's attire, as her daughters on the same memorial appear in Paris hoods. At Clippesby, Julian, the wife of John Clippesby, 1594, shows a good example of



ANNE HEYDON.

BACONSTHORPE. 1561.



MARGARET HUNT.

HINDOLVESTONE. 1568.

this fashion; and in the noble church at Snettisham lies the figure of a lady, *circa* 1570 in date, which has a veiled head-dress, over which is a large *calash* or hood. These hoods were of black silk, as we learn from the will of Mary Chapman of Bury St. Edmund's, wherein she bequeaths to her daughter Martha, in 1649, her "blacke silke hood."¹ Another example of head attire at the close of the sixteenth century is furnished by the figure of Mary, widow of Robert Rust, 1596, at Necton, where over the

¹ *Bury Wills*, p. 221, pub. Camden Society.

cap there is also the large hood, which hangs down at the back below the waist.¹

Although not incised on brass, the effigies on the slab, commemorating John Pell and Margaret his wife, at Dersingham, and dated 1607, may be mentioned, as that of the lady shows the Stuart head-dress, with the lappet at back, brought, or turned up, on to the top of the head. The brass of Jane, widow of Humphrey Coningsby, 1608, at Felbrigg, wears a costume very similar to that of Margaret Pell, and with a hood similar to that of Mary Rust. Some-



times the edges of these hoods appear to have been trimmed with rich lace, as may be perceived on a brass at Stopham, Sussex. At Snettisham the brass of Anne, wife of John Cremer, or "Cremerus" as the Latin epitaph styles him, dated 1610, shows the lady in a head-dress with wide lappets spreading out on either side.

The latest brass in Norfolk, showing a female effigy,

¹ *Norfolk Archaeology*, xii. 300.

appears to be that of Jane, wife of Sinolphus Bell, 1631, at Upwell.

One form of feminine head-dress varied so little during the middle ages, that it has been thought best to describe it separately. It is the coiffure of nuns, and of widows who had taken a vow of celibacy on the deaths of their husbands, and were known as vowesses. This custom was well known in early times, and in the Anglo-Saxon work called the *Benedictional* of S. Æthelwold, is a form entitled "*Benedictio vestium virginis atque consecratio vestium viduæ.*" Spenser alludes to such a widow in his *Faerie Queene*, as—

"A mother grave and hore,
Whose onely joy was to relieve the needes
Of wretched soules and helpe the helpelesse pore.
All night she spent in bidding of her bedes,
And all the day in doing good, and goodly deedes."

Doubtless there were examples of these "widows indeed," and to one of them we are indebted for the Grammar School at Nottingham. We have records of some of these vowesses in Norfolk, and there are three brasses of such ladies in this county, the oldest being that of Philippa de Beauchamp, 1384, at Necton, already alluded to. This lady, on the death of her husband, May 11th, 1360, made a solemn vow of chastity in the Collegiate Church at Warwick, before the Bishop of Worcester, and her effigy shows her in the habit she then received, namely, a veil, mantle, and gorget, together with a professional ring. In illustration of this custom, it may be mentioned that in 1369, Joan, widow of Simon de Shardlow, professed before the Bishop of Norwich a vow of celibacy, and Sir Simon de Babingle and William de Swinefleete were witnesses to a deed in which the promise of the widow was registered, and to which document she affixed her consent by making the form of a cross upon it.

In the little church of Witton near Blofield, is the brass of a female, showing her in a plain gown and mantle, and with a gorget and veil about her head. There is an inscription beneath the figure as follows :—

Orate pro anima-domine Juliane Angell
Votricis cujus anime propicietur deus.

Lastly, we have an example of a vowess in the mutilated church at Frenze near Diss, but which is an edifice rich in brasses. Here the costume of the widow is not so plain as in the preceding instance, as the gown is confined with an ornamental girdle, and has fur cuffs; the mantle also has long cords ending in tassels, and moreover there are three



JOAN BRAHAM.

FRENZE. 1510.

shields of arms over the effigy. The inscription is as follows :—

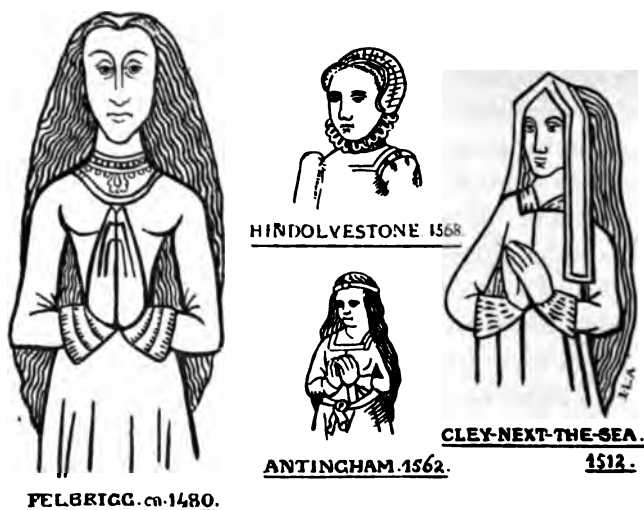
Hic jacet tumulata domina Johanna Braham vidua ac deo dedicata
Olim uxor Johannis Braham Armigeri que obiit xviii die
Novembris anno domini millimo ccccxcix cujus anime propicietur
deus Amen.

It will be noticed that each lady is styled *domina*, and correctly so, as a vowess was entitled to be termed Dame, as the wives of Baronets are now. The subject of these consecrated widows has been treated of here somewhat fully, as I am unaware of any brass, out of Norfolk, in which distinct mention is made that it commemorates a vowess. Although most widows were not vowesses, many seem to have worn simple attire, and in this that of the head attire formed part. Some are seen in similar costumes to vowesses, as was the case on the brass, now lost, of Ela, widow of Sir Miles Stapleton, 1425, at Ingham, and still appears on that of Christiana, widow of Robert Baxter, 1432, at St. Giles', Norwich, who wears a very stiff barbe and ample veil. Such attire seems to have characterised the widow down to a late period, and Mr. Cutts, in his *Scenes and Characteristics of the Middle Ages*, p. 156, truly observes that, "In post-Reformation times there are biographies of holy women, which show that the idea of consecrated widowhood was still living in the minds of the people. Probably," he continues, "the dress commonly worn by widows throughout their widowhood is a remnant of the mediæval custom." Some widows appear in plain head-dresses of the prevailing fashion. Thus Margaret Pettwode, on her brass, 1514, at St. Clement's, Norwich, has a plain pedimental head-dress, and a portrait of Margaret of Lancaster, rather earlier in date, exhibits her in a broad plain kennel coiffure, but with face and neck closely whimpled. Many widows seem to have worn a kerchief only over their heads, as seen on the brass of Margaret Hunt, at Hindolvestone. Some widows, as in modern times, seem to have dressed as gaily as married ladies, as witness the brass of Jane Blen'haysett, 1521, at Frenze, who the epitaph tells us was a "wedow."

At St. Stephen's, Norwich, is the brass of Ele Buttry, 1546, who was the last Prioress of Campsey Ash in Suffolk,

but the effigy is of early fifteenth century date, and shows a plain veil. Concerning this head-dress we find that the good nuns had veils for festival and for common use, as in the will of Barbara Mason, Prioress of Marham, dated 1538, she leaves to her "syster, Isabell Mason, ij silv' sponys and my best vayle."¹

Young unmarried women wore their hair long and unconfined in the fifteenth century, as seen on the figure of Cecily Boleyn, 1458, at Blickling, and of Anna Boleyn, 1479, at the same place, though the latter can hardly be called young, for the inscription informs us that she "deceased in hir maydenhode of the age of L yeeres." A lady with very luxuriant tresses is seen on a brass at Felbrigg, *circa* 1480 ; but in the latter part of the fifteenth



century and the earlier portion of the sixteenth, we find many instances in which, whilst the hair falls freely down at the back, a frontlet of the kennel shape is worn.

¹ *Bury Wills*, p. 133.

Excellent examples of this are given us on the brass of John Symondes and his family, 1512, at Cley-next-the-sea. Little Elizabeth Calthorpe, on her father's brass, 1562, at Antingham, wears her hair flowing, but has a fillet round the head, decorated with a brooch or jewel, a fashion not altogether unknown in recent times, a narrow black velvet band, with a small brooch in the centre, having been worn by women in humble life about 1840. The daughters of Edmund Hunt on his memorial, 1568, at Hindolvestone, wear their hair gathered up under the then fashionable Paris hood.

One other form of head-dress remains to have a few remarks devoted to it, as representations of it occur somewhat frequently on East Anglian brasses. It is one worn



AGNES SYMONDES.
CLEY-NEXT-THE-SEA. 1512.

in all ages and in many centuries, by old and young, male and female, whilst, singular to say, none assume it till life has closed. The shroud, it need hardly be said, is here

alluded to, and which appears on the effigies of many Norfolk examples, as at Brampton, 1468; Aylsham, 1499; Kirby Bedon, 1505; Fincham, *circa* 1520; and Loddon, 1546. A late instance, but not of a female, occurs at Bawburgh, 1660, in memory of Archdeacon Philip Tenison, Rector of Hethersett and Foulsham.

A good example is furnished by the brass of John Symondes, before alluded to, 1512, at Cley-next-the-Sea, where both man and wife are in shrouds, and attention is called to their condition by scrolls scattered around them inscribed "Now thus."

In the middle ages the word "attire," or shortened into "tire," was used both as a noun and a verb in connection with head-dresses, and the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures furnishes many instances of this. Thus, in *Ezekiel* we read (ch. xxiv. v. 17) "bind the tire of thy head upon thee," and in *Isaiah* (ch. iii. v. 18) "the Lord will take away thy tire," whilst we are informed in *2 Kings* (ch. ix. v. 30) that "Jezebel tired her head." Spenser also has :—

" On her head she wore a tire of gold
Adorn'd with gems and ouches."

An interesting example of this use of the word "attire" is furnished by a letter of Margaret Paston, written *circa* 1448, concerning the "wedding trousseau" of a bride, "there is," she says "purvayed for her moche gode aray of gownys (gowns) gyrdelys and *atyrys* and moche other gode array."¹

¹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 131.

Norwich Militia in the Fourteenth Century.

COMMUNICATED BY

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I.—THE NATIONAL OBLIGATION.

By the Assize of Arms in 1181¹ King Henry II. ordered every adult freeman to provide himself with arms according to the extent of his property. This was a revival of the old English "fyrd," or obligation to military service in defence of the country or in maintenance of internal peace. Though the obligation was never annulled, it naturally fell into disuse while the mass of the English population was hostile to the Norman conquerors. The early Norman kings relied rather on the levies of the followers of their feudal tenants, or even on foreign mercenaries. When Henry revived the practice the two races were becoming fused together. There remained, however, considerable difficulty in blending the national system with the service due to local lords, and more than one re-enactment of the duty was required. A writ of King Henry III. in 1252² re-affirmed the obligation, specifying the age of those liable as between fifteen and sixty years, and defining more minutely the classification according to property. In 1285³ King Edward I., in the important Statute of

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

Winchester, once more commanded "that every man have in his house harness for to keep the peace according to the ancient Assize." Some further details of organisation were introduced, and it was ordered that a "View of Arms" should be held in each hundred twice a year.

The principle of obligation to national military service thus repeatedly affirmed has never quite been abrogated, and exists at present in the form of our "Militia." In some other European countries circumstances have required its much more extensive survival. And it may be that in self defence we ourselves may, in the future, be compelled to reassert that a man cannot always claim to put off on others an obligation which rests on all alike.

After the Statute of Winchester another question began to be urgent. Although the King might call upon every adult to prepare for defence and other necessary objects, could he summon them to follow him out of the country? By enactments in¹ 1st and 25th Edward III. it was decided that, except under great urgency, no one should be compelled to serve out of his county. The King, however, with the sanction of Parliament,² might issue a "Commission of Array," authorising appointed persons to press into his service a given number of men from some particular district. They must supply their own armour and weapons, but when they went beyond their own county, or at least beyond the kingdom,³ they were to be at the King's costs.

¹ 1st Edward III. cap. 5; 25th Edward III. cap. 28.

² Gneist, *History of the English Constitution* (tr. Ashworth), p. 288.

³ Among the Lynn archives is an Order of King Edward III. to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Lynn. It is dated from Norwich, 23rd December, 18th Edward III., and in it the King requires 100 armed footsoldiers to be sent to meet him at *Portsmouth*, and go with him at his charges ("a nos gages"). A copy of this Order has been kindly shewn me by Mr. G. G. Coulton of Pentney and Eastbourne, who has recently studied the subject of national military service, and has afforded me much useful help.

The general principles on which this system of national military service was organised, the classification of knights and footsoldiers, and the arms they were required to provide, are plainly set out in the enactments already quoted. But it is always more satisfactory if we can see the proceedings being carried out in specific instances. The records which would enable us to do so in early times are not very numerous, or at least have not been made accessible to the public.¹ The nine documents here dealt with relate to this department of municipal life in the City of Norwich, while the system retained something of its ancient form. Five of them are still preserved. One of these, a return for the Leet of Conesford, is certainly a record of the normal organisation of the men of that Leet for one of the prescribed Views of Arms. Two more, for the Leets of Mancroft and Wymer, though they follow the same lines, have certain noticeable differences. The fourth and fifth, also for the Leet of Wymer, must refer rather to a special Commission of Array. No return for the fourth Leet of the city, the Leet Over the Water, is now in existence. But fortunately, among the miscellaneous loose papers left to the city by Mr. John Kirkpatrick, there has been found an analysis of the documents just mentioned. It appears that in his time (he died in 1725) the missing return was with the others, and he has analysed them all. He also had under his inspection three more documents relating to some special call on the city for armed men. It is strange that though all these nine documents belong to a very limited period in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, it can hardly be said for certain that any two

¹ Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 15, mentions one at Bridport (1319), quoted from *Historical MSS. Commission* vi. part i. p. 491, and another at Reading (1311) from xi. p. 7.

of them belong to exactly the same occasion. The Conesford View of Arms is dated July 27th, 29th Edward III. (1355). The Wymer Roll of "Array" mentions a Bailiff who was elected to the office at Michaelmas, 1359. One of the missing Rolls, analysed by Kirkpatrick, relates to a demand of the King for some armed men at Easter, 33rd Edward III. (1359). The rest have no date, nor any clue to a definite date. But as the principal names in all of them are found in documents of this period, we may assign the whole series to about the time included within the limits of 1355 to 1370.

They fall naturally into two classes. First, there are the four large Rolls, one for each Leet of the city, which give a general view of the city militia. Only we shall notice that while the Conesford Roll seems to take us back to the old "Assize of Arms," the other three seem to shew the older system gradually falling under the influence of the newer development, in the substitution by the leading citizens of armed men and archers in lieu of their own personal service. Such, at least, appears to be the explanation of the different form of enrolment which will be noticed.

The Rolls of the other class relate entirely to the arrangements made for providing special men to serve at the King's demand. They lack, in consequence, the social and economic interest belonging to those which deal with the more complete details of the whole militia system, as carried out in the city.

II.—A XIVTH CENTURY "VIEW OF ARMS."

We will begin with these larger Rolls, and first take the heading of the Conesford Roll,¹ which runs thus :—"View

¹ Roll A, p. 295.

of Arms held before John Bardolf¹ of Wermegeie and his fellows, Justices of the lord King for preserving the peace of the lord King in the County of Norfolk, for the Leet of Conesford in the City of Norwich, on Monday next after the feast of Saint James the Apostle in the 29th year of King Edward the third from the conquest of England." The appointment of leading knights as permanent custodians of the peace in their counties had become an established practice in this reign, and it was natural that the inspection into the way in which the Assize of Arms was being carried out should be committed to them. At present the same powers had not been definitely granted to the leading citizens or burgesses of cities or boroughs; though we gather from the smaller Wymer Roll that the Bailiffs and others were probably associated with the County Magistrates in the View.

It may be as well to observe here, with regard to the "Leets" of Norwich, that although by this time the word was used for a municipal division of the city, in the same sense as "ward" was more commonly used in other places, yet in its origin a Leet was part of a Hundred. The Hundred was the old English division of a County for military, police, and most administrative purposes, and Norwich might have been treated as one of the Norfolk Hundreds. But it was an East Anglian practice to divide Hundreds into minor divisions called "Leets," and these again into smaller sub-divisions. Norwich had for many generations been divided into the four Leets already mentioned, each of which was organised as if a separate Hundred. This is why each Leet made its own return at the View of Arms. The

¹ This John Bardolf succeeded his father at the age of 17, in 1329. He lived till 3rd August, 45th Edward III. (1371). See Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 8vo., vol. vii. p. 495.

four Leets were unequally divided into sub-leets, and this sub-division, as we shall see, formed the basis of the regimental organisation.

As each Leet thus provided a separate quota of the militia to be viewed, it is possible that John Bardolf and his companions may have inspected each of them separately. But the convenience, to say nothing of the attractiveness, of having a general review of the whole at one and the same time is obvious, and in view of the picturesque form in which the Conesford return is made we may be pardoned for making that assumption. Taking that Roll as our guide, we may suppose ourselves to go out on July 27th, 1355, to attend a review of the adult manhood of the "citizenship" of Norwich, equipped for inspection by the appointed official of the King. I will explain afterwards why I think that the Rolls apply to "citizens" and their households, and not to the "non-citizen" inhabitants.

The day selected on that occasion was not one of the notable feast days of the Church. It would be fixed, no doubt, for the convenience of the inspecting magistrates. It must, however, of necessity have been a day of abstention from work or business. We may be sure that the citizen merchants and traders who were called out would not willingly shut up their shops and their market stalls, and leave "foreigners" to have a monopoly of the day's business. It is also reasonable to suppose that the wives and daughters and other admiring friends would come to see their relations in all their bravery, even though the relation could only flourish a stick in the face or plunge a knife into the heart of some imaginary Frenchman. Some of them may have actually tasted the stern reality of war, for the campaign of Crecy and the siege of Calais had taken place only nine years before.

When we reach the ground, we see at once that there are four quotas or contingents, one from each of the four Leets of the city. If they are arranged in the usual official order, Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer, and Over the Water, we should observe that in point of actual size, the two first did not differ much, but in detail of armament they differed greatly. The third, Wymer, would appear to be nearly twice the size of the others, while the fourth was the smallest of all. How each contingent was organised we should hardly know if the Conesford Roll had not happily survived. Nothing can be clearer (except on one or two points) than the picture which the compiler of that Roll has set before us. We will therefore take it first.

It consists of two parts. First are given the names of the armed¹ men and the archers, and then both they and the remaining foot soldiers are, so to speak, marched past as arranged in their various companies and sections under their officers.

The list begins with the names of two constables "fully armed." The armour is specified once for all, and the description applies to all the other "fully armed" men. By the Statute of Winchester, two constables were to be chosen in every Hundred and Franchise, to make the view of armour and to present defaults before the justices assigned. To carry out this order in Norwich would have required either two constables for the whole city, or two for each of the four great Leets. Or, perhaps a third course was the one actually taken. In the Leet Roll for 1288, under the presentments for the Leet of Conesford, is mentioned the imprisonment of a

¹ It is important to observe that by "armed men (*armati*)" throughout these Rolls is meant men who wore *defensive armour* as distinguished from the rest who wore none. The "armour" includes offensive weapons as a necessary equipment for all alike.

man "ad sectam Hugonis de Bromholm *Constabularii* de predicta leta." The fact that he is not called "*one of the constables*," and that he acts on his own sole authority, would imply that he was sole constable for that Leet, and that the requirements of the Statute were met by choosing four constables for the city, one for each Leet. Further, in the same roll, under the first of the two sub-leets Over the Water, a certain Simon de Melton is reported for "grievous contempt done to the Bailiffs, because he declined to take the oath when he was elected *sub-constable* by all the jurors," i.e., of the sub-leet. Thus it would appear that while each great Leet had a constable, each sub-leet had a sub-constable. As at that time the great Leet of Conesford was divided into three sub-leets, there would have been in that Leet one constable and three sub-constables. During the first half of the fourteenth century, however, the sub-leets came to be treated more definitely as separate units, and were even called "Leets." The two sub-leets of Conesford were at the same time combined in one, so that three of the great Leets had two sub-leets each, and the fourth had four sub-leets. If we suppose that constables were (as part of this tendency) substituted for sub-constables in the ten sub-leets, this would exactly harmonise with the ten "*constabularies*," which are found, or implied, in our present Rolls.¹

The names of the two constables for Conesford are William Skie and John de Causton. They were both

¹ On this subject full information will be found in "*Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich*, Selden Society's Publications, vol. v." The map and explanatory table show the Leets and sub-leets. Their names at the time of our Rolls were these—I., The Leet of Conesford contained the sub-leets of (1) Conesford, (2) Berstrete; II., the Leet of Mancroft, the sub-leets of (3) St. Peter, (4) St. Stephen; III., the Leet of Wymer, the sub-leets of (5) St. Giles, (6) St. Gregory, (7) St. Andrew, (8) St. George; IV., the Leet Ultra Aquam, the sub-leets of (9) St. Michael, (10) St. Clement.

well-known citizens. The name of the latter is interpolated in a later hand as captain (on another occasion) of the Berstrete company. We may therefore conclude that he was constable for Berstrete, and William Skie, constable for the sub-leet of Conesford.

After this follow the names of eleven other men "armed in the same manner." The first is "Thomas Cole, one of the Bailiffs of Norwich." There were four Bailiffs elected annually as chief governors of the city, one for each Leet. Thomas Cole, had, the previous Michaelmas, been elected by the citizens of the Leet of Conesford. After his name is written "one archer," meaning apparently that he was bound to bring an archer with him. Another of the fully-armed men and also one of the constables, J. de Causton, have the same addition to their names.

After these thirteen fully-armed men follows a series of nineteen with the heading "half-armed." The armour of the first is described and does not materially differ from that of the fully-armed. The rest are only described as "armed as above."

After the half-armed men comes the heading "Archers." In this Leet there were scarcely any. Only six names are given, and even if the three mentioned above are additional there were only nine. Some of them bear the names of leading families. At least five of them are found in the sections of the Berstrete company.

The Organisation of a Leet Contingent.—We now pass to what is the most interesting feature of all our Rolls, a graphic picture presenting no mere classified list of men according to their equipment, but the whole Conesford battalion arranged in what we may fairly call marching order.

The clerk begins with the special contingent from the sub-leet of Conesford, as distinguished from that of

Berstrete. It consisted of what would now be called a "company" of about a hundred men, under a "centenarius" or captain. The company was sub-divided into five "sections," with about twenty men in each, under an officer called "vintenarius" (from the French "vingt"). The titles of these two sets of officers (which were also used at that time in an army on active service), show that the Conesford company just answered to its normal complement. This raises the important question whether this conformity with a normal organisation was not entirely artificial; in other words, whether the result was attained by calling out, not all who were liable, but as many as were needed to produce the required force. We must bear this question in mind as we examine the contingents sent from the rest of the city.

The name of the "centenarius" was John Mountford. He was one of the fully-armed men on the foregoing list. He carried a spear or lance with a banner ("cum hasta et baner").

The first section of the company was headed by Thomas de Hornyngg, "vintenarius." He, in common with all the "vintenarii," carried a lance with a pennon ("cum hasta et pyncello"). He was one of the half-armed men, and three others of the half-armed men formed part of his section, which numbered just twenty, including the officer. The remaining sixteen wore no defensive armour at all. They all carried a staff and knife, several a sword, and one an axe called a "wyex."

The officer of the second section was Walter Smith, who must be the person entered among the half-armed men as "Walterus Whitbred, vintenarius." He carried his lance and pennon and had two other half-armed men in his section, which contained eighteen more unarmed men, or twenty-one in all.

The third section was headed by John Latimer, a half-armed man, who was followed by another half-armed man, and his section included also the three first names on the fully-armed list, Thomas Cole one of the then Bailiffs of the city being one of them. The section included sixteen others, or a total of twenty-one.

The fourth section had for its "vintemar" William de Bliburgh, one of the fully-armed men, and contained one of the half-armed men and twenty-one others, in all twenty-three. It is noticeable that immediately following William de Bliburgh comes John de Bliburgh, evidently a member of his family, carrying only a sword, staff, and knife, and lower down is Richard servant of William de Bliburgh. Only three "servientes" are mentioned in the Conesford Roll, whereas in the Wymer Roll they are very numerous, and probably in the other two, so far as can be ascertained.

The fifth and last of the sections in the Conesford sub-leet was under John Rokele for its vintemar, one of the fully-armed, and contained another fully-armed man and eighteen men besides, making a total of twenty.

After this we come to the other sub-leet of Conesford Leet, that of Berstrete. The heading is important as containing a statement not included in the general heading of the Roll. It is "View of Arms and of men apportioned¹ to arms in the Leet of Berstrete." The meaning of this "apportionment to arms" must be considered in connection with the other Rolls. The sub-leet of Berstrete furnished a separate company with its own captain or "centenarius." But being not so large as Conesford it had only four sections, and fell short of the full complement of a hundred men.

¹ "Agistatis." See below, p. 280.

The centenar was Thomas de Troun, one of the fully-armed, with his lance and banner ("vexillo").

The vintinar of the first section was William de Mundham, one of the half-armed, and he was followed by twenty-one others, one being a "serviens." Another was a lady, Petronilla de Bokenham, who was charged with the finding of one man with a staff and a knife. She was probably a citizen's widow. Eleven years after this date she was admitted to the citizenship in her own right. Another in this section was one of the archers named at the beginning of the Roll.

The second section was under John de Boyland, one of the fully-armed men. Three of the half-armed were in it, and four of the archers. Thirteen others made up its number to twenty-one.

The third vintinar was Bartholomew de Reppes, a fully-armed man. In his section were two of the half-armed men and eighteen others, twenty-one in all.

The last section, under Francis Spicer, a half-armed man, had in it two other half-armed men and one armed man, whose name is illegible, but is doubtless Henry de Bonyngton, a fully-armed man, the only remaining name on the two lists of armed men to be accounted for. There were also two of the archers and fourteen others, making twenty in all.

To sum up, therefore, the view of the Leet of Conesford, we have (a) in the sub-leet of Conesford one company, under a captain, divided into five sections comprising five vintenars and exactly one hundred men; (b) in the sub-leet of Berstrete one company, under a captain, divided into four sections comprising four vintenars and exactly eighty men. For the whole Leet there are two captains, nine vintenars, and one hundred and eighty men. The "centenarii" and "vintenarii" all wore defensive armour, as did twenty-one others scattered amongst the various

sections. The remaining foot soldiers wore no armour. Seven of them had bows and arrows, the rest carried a miscellaneous assortment of weapons, swords, hatchets, axes, and almost all a staff and a knife. The two constables, who head the list, are not mentioned in the military arrangement.

*The Leet of Mancroft.*¹—Although, as already stated, the Rolls for the other three Leets are not compiled in the same graphic form as that for Conesford, yet we may gather some details from them which may enable us to fill up the picture of our supposed review. The Roll for Mancroft is so defaced as to be almost illegible. It is possible to decipher some of the names, chiefly those of known families, and with the help of the existing Conesford and Wymer Rolls the various weapons carried may be made out. Kirkpatrick has given some of the principal names in his analysis.

No constables are mentioned, and there is no descriptive heading nor date. There were two "centenarii." This is what we should expect, for the Leet of Mancroft was sub-divided into the sub-leets of St. Peter de Mancroft and St. Stephen. There would, therefore, be two corresponding companies. But when we come to the constitution of the companies the only clue we get is that after the names of the "centenarii" come the names of eleven "vintenars." This would indicate that the two companies were sub-divided into eleven sections, which, according to the Conesford example, should have comprised 220 persons. My calculation of the names is 200, exclusive of the officers. Kirkpatrick also gives—"Sum total, 213, whereof two Centenar and eleven Vintenar." This falls short of the proper total by about twenty. Perhaps if the roll were in better order this might be explained. Ten vintenars instead of eleven would make

¹ Roll B, p. 302.

the total more correct. If, however, the numbers show a constitution similar to that of Conesford, the character of the individual men is considerably different. Thirty men are fully-armed, twenty-three are half-armed, fifty-seven carry bows and arrows, and ninety carry the miscellaneous arms mentioned before. Among the last class Kirkpatrick notices that there are "several servants." It is still possible to detect the word in twenty-five cases.

*The Leet of Wymer.*¹—The existing Roll for this Leet, as that for the Leet of Mancroft, has neither descriptive heading nor date; nor is there any mention of "centenarii" or "vintenarii." There are, however, placed at the head of the Roll the names of four constables. It will be observed that they are set in pairs. It appears that the first pair were fully-armed men, and the other pair half-armed. But probably it may have been a mere fancy of the clerk. That the Leet should have four constables is again in accordance with the number of its sub-leets, of which there were four. Following the guidance of the Conesford Roll we should therefore expect to find four companies, with some twenty sections in all, comprising some 400 men. Our expectation is reasonably fulfilled, for the total number, according to my own calculation, is 397, according to Kirkpatrick's, 387. They are made up of 57 fully-armed men, 14 half-armed, 69 archers, and 257 unarmed men. Among the various classes are no fewer than 88 "servientes" with staff and knife, 24 of whom are brought by the archers.

*The Leet Over the Water.*²—For the details of this Leet we have only Kirkpatrick's analysis. It begins like the last, with the constables, who are two in number, again corresponding to the number of two sub-leets. No "centenarius" is mentioned, but six (or seven) names

¹ Roll C, p. 305.

² Roll D, p. 310.

have "vint" in the margin. It is not easy to say how many men the whole contingent comprised. Kirkpatrick begins with a list of thirty-nine names, including those of many well-known citizens. Ten of them are called fully-armed and nine others half-armed. Against the remaining twenty names are set twenty-five "armed men," unnamed. Kirkpatrick assumes that these twenty-five served instead of the twenty, Richard Spynk sending three in his place, John But the same, Edmund Alderford two, and the rest one each. A certain number of unnamed archers are also appended to these names. Then, he said, there followed twenty-six more archers, named, and eighty-one men, all carrying swords, staves, and knives. In all he makes a total of 169 men serving in the Leet. This number of sections and men falls considerably short of the requirements of two companies. But we do not know whether the Roll which Kirkpatrick saw was perfect, and at least the total number of men indicates that there were two companies rather than any other number.

Summary of the Four Leets.—To sum up the evidence of our four Rolls, so far as they relate to the regular organisation of the local militia, we can hardly avoid concluding that in Norwich at this time, a "View of Arms" did not imply the attendance of every adult male citizen, still less every inhabitant. Each of the ten sub-leets of the city provided one "centenary" or company of a hundred men. The full complement of "vintenaries," or sections of twenty men, was not always forthcoming; while beyond the hundred of a "centenary," it was not expected to make provision. In thus basing its arrangement on the sub-leets, the militia system was following the lines of the co-ordinate "Leet" or police system then in operation. This "police" system, though

nominally based, as was the militia, on the four great Leets or administrative divisions of the city, was really worked as the militia, on the basis of the sub-leets, from each of which a separate presenting jury appeared before the annual Leet Court, so that the sub-leets formed so many distinct "police" districts. Here we find an indication that perhaps the precise militia organisation of our Rolls had not been in operation very long. In the thirteenth century the number of sub-leets (or police districts) had been eleven. There were then, as already observed, three sub-leets in Conesford Great Leet instead of only two. It is uncertain at what precise time the sub-leets of South and North Conesford were combined together. There are no Leet Rolls preserved between 1313 and 1375. The former gives no clue. In the latter the change had been accomplished, as it had also at the date of an Account Roll of 1364. They were still separate in 1290, five years after the Statute of Winchester, so that if our militia organisation had been established at that date there would have been eleven, not ten, "centenaries." It is a possible suggestion that it had quite a recent origin and was part of a fresh start which must needs have been made in every department of city business after the catastrophe of the Black Death in 1349, which according to the best local evidence swept away more than half, perhaps two-thirds, of the lower classes of the population. But I would rather suppose that things had taken a more natural course. A thirteenth-century "View of Arms" would doubtless have been based on the sub-leets, as were the contemporary "police" courts. Each of the eleven sub-leets would have sent its contingent. But it would probably have comprised, in theory, the whole male citizen population responsible under the Assize of

Arms and the Statute of Winchester. By the middle of the fourteenth century, when a general levy for local self defence was a thing of the past, and the local militia was chiefly valued as a recruiting ground for the King's special "Commissioners of Array," the burden of these requirements would naturally lead to their partial neglect. This tendency would operate most of all in a large and free city. Provided the authorities found such men as the King wanted at any given time they would be allowed to manage things their own way. That way would be to assimilate their system to that of the King's army in the field. Hence the systematic organisation we find in our Rolls, superseding the more universal and at the same time more confused gatherings of an earlier period.

III.—SPECIAL COMMISSIONS OF ARRAY.

In considering the process of selecting men-at-arms and the substitution of paid men for personal service, of both which developments we have already found indications, it will be best at once to examine our remaining documents. They are five in number, two being still preserved, the other three only available through Kirkpatrick's notes. More than one of them may perhaps belong to the same occasion, 33rd Edward III. (1359). If so they would relate to the King's preparations in that year to renew the war with France. This date occurs in one of the lost Rolls¹ which is headed, "Names of armed men for the City of Norwich sworn to go out on the service of the Lord King, by mandate of the Lord King, at the feast of Easter in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Edward III." Another,² still

¹ Roll H, p. 318.

² Roll E, p. 312.

preserved, has the following heading, "Array made by mandate of¹ John Bardolf and his fellows Justices by mandate of the Lord King, and by [? oath] of John de Welborne, Bailiff of Norwich, and Hugo de Cantele and Adam Baas, Constables of the said vill, and of Robert de Bumpsted and Walter de Bixtone of the Leet of Wymer, sworn to make the array." A third,² on the dorse of the same Roll, has, "Array and Agistment of armed men and archers in the Leet of Wymer, in the City of Norwich, in the presence of John Bardolf and his fellows Justices of the Lord King, to array men-at-arms and archers in the County of Norfolk, etc." John de Welborne,³ mentioned here and in the larger Wymer Roll, as Bailiff, was elected to that office at the Michaelmas succeeding the Easter just mentioned (1359). The fourth⁴ of these documents contains an assessment of various citizens in the four Leets for the provision of armour. The fifth⁵ also contains a list of certain citizens, with various pieces of armour which apparently each of them had provided.

We have here to deal, not with a View of Arms, but with a process described by the two words "Arrayacio" and "Agistacio." Neither of these words seems here to be used in its most common sense. "Arraiare" usually means "to set in military array," and "agistare," to "apportion the numbers of heads of cattle a man may turn into a common ground." These are plainly not the

¹ According to the similar headings we should have expected to find "in the presence of John Bardolf," &c.

² Roll F, p. 314.

³ Two persons of this name were among the leading citizens at this time. They were distinguished as John de Welborne "de mercato," and John de Welborne "de cueria" or "del Tumland." The Cueria, or Cook Row, was between Tomblond and Fye Bridge and in the Leet of Wymer. This latter, therefore, is the one mentioned here. He was elected Bailiff at Michaelmas, 1359, and again in 1361 and 1365.

⁴ Roll G, p. 316.

⁵ Roll K, p. 319.

uses here. The meanings may be fairly arrived at from these and other local documents. The word "array," though dealing with military matters, was not used in its military sense, but in the legal sense of setting in order or drawing up a list of persons to serve on juries. As in the Statute of 42nd Edward III. cap. 11, the Sheriff is enjoined to "arraie the panels in assises" four days at least before the Sessions of the Justices, *i.e.*, to draw up lists of jurors for the inspection of the parties concerned, so the "Array" of our Rolls seems to have been first of all a muster-roll or list of persons liable to the obligation in question. A person thus enrolled was said to be "arrayed" or entered on the "array." After that it came to mean the list of men and archers finally selected to serve, and even the calling them out to service. Similarly the word "agistare" contained the idea of apportionment as in its manorial use, but what was apportioned was a personal or pecuniary liability, and so it passed into much the same meaning as to "assess." Thus when the King demanded a "balinger" or war vessel from the citizens of Norwich, we find on 4th January, 1378, at the meeting of the Municipal Assembly, two citizens chosen from each Leet "*ad agistandum pro dicto Balenger' unum tax'*," and immediately afterwards mention is made of an account to be rendered of this tax "*agistat' et levat'*" (assessed and levied). Both words, however, seem to have been used for the process of getting selected men without much regard to distinction of meaning. Here in our document F we have the Justices coming "*ad arrayandum homines ad arma et sagittarios.*" In the Assembly Roll of 1386 we read, "*Lectum fuit breve domini Regis ad agistandum homines ad arma & sagittarios.*" In the first entry of Roll F both words are used, "*Johannes de Hevyngham agistatus &*

arrayatus est ad unum hominem peditem armatum, &c." I take it that the clerk had no clear idea of the distinction between the words, or he would have reversed their order. The meaning must be that this citizen was entered on the array, and specifically assessed at the obligation of finding one armed man.

This entry is also interesting as shewing us perhaps the first step in the new development of military obligation which was taking place. After describing the armour to be worn by the "armed man," it continues thus—"And because the said John is too feeble to labour at carrying his arms, let there be assigned in his place [.]"¹ From this it appears that when the King demanded an armed man, and a certain citizen was declared to be liable, the custom of the city required him to go himself, or give a valid excuse for finding a substitute. We may well suppose, however, that such excuses became a mere pretence. This excuse is only once entered again. It must be admitted that there was another side to the question. The King wanted able-bodied soldiers, and his Commissioners were bound to satisfy themselves. Sometimes they may have doubted. Hence, perhaps, in an entry on Roll E, where John Gernoun and three others were responsible for one armed man, it is added, "and the said John is able in body to bear the arms." In these two Wymer Rolls, which give the names of the substitutes, it is generally a "serviens" who takes the place of the responsible citizen, but sometimes a brother.

We may here return to our four large Rolls, and enquire whether, besides being records of the organised City Militia, they were also used for the purpose of selecting men when required. We have seen that the substitution of others for personal service appears to be expressed in

¹ The name is not entered.

the Roll of the Leet over the Water. The inclusion of the large number of "servientes" in the Wymer contingent may have been to train them for future service. Even in the Conesford Roll we have in the heading of the Berstrete sub-leet the expression "et de hominibus agistatis ad arma." This can only refer to the "armati" in the succeeding sections, whose names have already been entered on the lists of armed men at the head of the Roll. As there is nothing to suggest that these men were armed for any other reason than because they were liable under the requirements of the Assize, it would seem that "agistati ad arma" here means "assessed as being under the obligation to provide armour," either as fully-armed or half-armed men. However this may be, at least we may conclude that the lists kept for the purposes of the Views of Arms would furnish the basis for a special Array, and that probably these four returns were all compiled with the double object in view.¹

When the required number of armed men was found, the practice must have been to make a valuation of the required armour, and charge it *pro rata* on the citizens "arrayed and agisted." Kirkpatrick's Roll H gives the names of five "Valuers of the Armour," and also the numbers of the various pieces provided. His Roll G is a list of citizens in the four Leets with the amounts at which they were assessed for armour, and his Roll K is a list of "Arms received and valued," with the names of the persons who had sent them in. It appears that the citizens chargeable sent in arms which, if accepted, were valued and the price allowed towards their liability. The only values mentioned are "10 dublets, £1. 11s.," or about 3s. each, and "2 bacinets with aventails, 14s.," or

¹ See the Order of 1359, p. 312, note 1.

7s. each. According to these values the equipment of an armed man would amount to 20s. or more.

The number of men provided by the city in Kirkpatrick's Roll H is given by him as "in toto 96." In the Wymer Roll E eighteen armed men are provided, and thirty-six others unarmed. Of these, two are called "archers," five others have only bows and arrows, nine carry various weapons, and twenty have nothing but the ordinary staff and knife. In Wymer Roll F only thirteen armed men and one archer are mentioned. These two latter Rolls however must surely be imperfect. On more than one occasion the royal demand on Norwich was for 120 men. In 1385 and 1386 are some interesting notices in the Assembly Rolls. On 23rd August, 1385, was read a "Letter Patent from Robert Knoll, William de Brembre, Mayor of London, and William de Walworth, for ships, barges, balingers, and mariners to go into the parts of Flanders, and it was agreed by the whole commonalty for forty armed men and forty archers and forty mariners, and a tax of a double tenth was granted to be levied as quickly as might be, and the taxers were elected (two for each Leet)." On August 29th a further letter was read from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Winchester [? concerning three] ships and three barges, each of the ships with forty men at arms and forty archers, and each of the barges with [? 30] men at arms and thirty archers with double equipment both ships and barges." The only step then taken was to agree that "the armed men, archers, and mariners should wear slops and hoods¹ of white and red *party*."² On September 1st a citizen, Walter de

¹ "Slopp' et Capucia," frocks or tunics and hooded head coverings."

² "De albo & rubeo bipartit'"—of white and red divided vertically in two equal parts.

Bixton, was chosen to go to London to make answer in the name of the commonalty to the Archbishop and the two Bishops. Whether this transaction led to any result does not appear. The next notice seems to refer to something different. On June 14th, 1386, a writ is read from the king to "agist" men at arms. On August 18th it was agreed that the four Bailiffs, and two citizens from each Leet, should select forty armed men and eighty archers, and value their wages. On this occasion it seems that the citizens had to find not only the equipment but also the wages perhaps to the coast.¹ They were to serve at a distance, for on September 11th the armed men and archers selected "ad proficiscendum" were ordered to be "ready at [? the Chapel of St. Mary] in the Fields on Monday next."

In Kirkpatrick's Roll G the sum total of the armour required is set down at £61. 14s. 6d., which might be the cost of equipment of forty armed men.

IV.—THE SOCIAL CONDITION, &c., OF THE MILITIA MEN.

There is one other matter on which something may be said. Were those who attended a View of Arms citizens and their households, or were some of them inhabitants who had not sought admission to the freedom of the city? And, again, what social rank did the different classes of men occupy? There is no definite evidence to enable us to answer the first question with any degree of assurance. But the probability seems to be that citizens alone were being dealt with. The Assize of Arms very distinctly says, "The

¹ See the case of Lynn, p. 264, note 3.

king has enjoined that none should be received to the oath of arms except a freeman." And although the writ of 1252 adds to "the citizens and burgesses" not only "freeholders" (i.e. in the country), but also "villains and others," this is, I think rightly, understood by some to refer only to such "villains and others" as held lands above a certain value as sub-tenants.¹ It is clear that the obligation to provide armour, and to be "sworn to arms," was associated with the holding of property, however small. Its object was not only to fight for the country but to do the police work of keeping the peace, and the persons on whom this duty was charged were thereby recognised as responsible and trustworthy. On these grounds we may reasonably conclude that the men sworn to arms in a borough or a city would not be every irresponsible male adult, but the burgesses and citizens, the male adult members of their families, and perhaps the men of their household.

So far as our records go, there is scarcely a name amongst the fully-armed and half-armed men which is not familiar to a student of contemporary local documents as that of a leading actor in civic life, and therefore unquestionably a citizen. The lists of admissions to the freedom are very defective, and many of their names are not to be found there. On the other hand, not a few of them occupied the office of Bailiff, many are found among the surviving lists of the twenty-four annually-elected citizens, and others are found appointed on municipal committees. Even without this evidence we should naturally surmise that the armed men (who served in their own right) were the leading citizens. But we cannot, therefore, draw too precise conclusions as to the social condition of the city. The two classes of armed

¹ Gneist, *Const. Hist.*, p. 287, "free tenants in villainage."

men ought to correspond to the property qualifications of the Statute of Winchester. These, in regard to persons who, like citizens, were estimated according to their property in goods and not in land, were three,¹ (1) those who possessed 40 marks in goods (£26. 13s. 4d.) were to provide themselves with an hauberke, an helme of iron, a sword, a knife, and a horse; (2) those who had 20 marks (£13. 6s. 8d.) were to have an hauberke, an helme of iron, a sword, and a knife; (3) those with less than 20 marks in goods, to have swords, knives, and other less weapons. This classification would seem to explain the three divisions of our rolls—(1) the fully-armed men, (2) the half-armed, and (3) those who wore no defensive armour. Though no horses are mentioned in the rolls, and the Conesford fully-armed men are entered in the sections of foot soldiers at the View of Arms, yet we know that leading citizens of all kinds must have possessed horses. But while the Statute was no doubt the cause of the three-fold division, it would be a mistake to assume that we can credit the members of each division with just the scale of property there expressed. There is evidence that the assessment of individuals in the city (for whatever purpose) was based on the total amount required for a "king's tenth." This, which was a tax irregularly demanded by the King, had formerly been estimated by making constant assessments of a person's movable goods, a tenth being demanded from cities, boroughs, and places on the King's demesne, and a fifteenth throughout the rest of the country. At the time of the Statute of Winchester, therefore, a citizen's payment to that tax multiplied by ten ought to have given the amount of his taxable property. But we may suspect that in this, as in other matters, large towns were early allowed to make a composition, and levy it in their own way. In 1334

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 474.

this convenient arrangement was sanctioned throughout the country. The city of Norwich was then assessed at the fixed sum of £94. 12s. 0d.¹ Now we have just seen that when money was wanted in 1385 for special military purposes the Assembly ordered a tax of a double tenth (i.e., £189. 4s. 0d.) to be assessed and levied as soon as possible. The assessment thus ordered would be made on the supposition that the total rateable value of the whole city for all or any purposes was to be taken as £946, individuals paying *pro rata* on that basis. An existing account roll of about the same date as our documents, called "The payment of 500 marks," is evidently also based on this foundation, the highest and lowest limits of the sums mentioned being almost exactly proportionate with those found in the only complete tax-list for the city in early times, that for a tenth in 1332.² The amount then paid was £82. 18s. 6d., a little less than the amount permanently fixed two years later. If we examine that list we find that the largest payers are two who paid £2, representing nominally a property of £20; one paid 30s., and two others 26s. 8d. That is, not one citizen would have been liable to the requirements of the first class of armour, and only five to those of the second. Even if we allow for the increased assessment of 1334 it would only take in two more, who pay 24s. Of course it is plain that such an assessment gave no correct measure of the actual property of the taxpayers. It only expresses the proportions they paid towards a fixed sum of £94. We are therefore reluctantly obliged to relinquish any endeavour to draw a comparison between the numbers of armed men serving in the Leet contingents, and any existing evidence as to the wealth of individual citizens. In what way it was decided that a man should take on himself

¹ See *Norfolk Archaeology*, xii. 288.

² Public Record Office Lay Subsidy 149.

the obligation of being fully armed or half armed, or of providing one or two armed men or an archer, we have no means of knowing. There is a curious entry in the Assembly Roll for 1369 to the effect that "the citizens discussed a certain letter of the Earl of Suffolk touching the amending of the array (*tangentem aracionem meliorandam*).¹" Those present were apparently a special committee of one Bailiff, some constables, and two men from each Leet. No further step is recorded.

The total number of armed men named (apart from those sent by, or as substitutes for, others) is 196, of whom 32 are in Conesford, 60 in Mancroft, 65 in Wymer, and 39 in Over the Water. They may not all have been heads of households, but there must have been at least 150 families in the city of equal rank with the knights and gentry of the county.

When we come to the class which wore no defensive armour, our attention is at once attracted to the archers. They are put forward to a great extent as a separate branch and as though they took precedence of the rest of the class. This is not so in the Statute of Winchester, which runs thus: "He that hath less than 20 marks in goods shall have swords, knives, and other less weapons; and all other that may shall have bows and arrows out of the forest, and in the forest bows and boults." This seems to place the archers quite at the bottom of the scale. But the clause is copied from the writ of 1252,¹ in which the last class of holders of chattels was divided

¹ The French text of the Statute of Winchester (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 472) has "Et tuz les autres qi aver pount, eient arcs, &c." The writ of 1252 (*ibid.*, p. 372) has "Omnes etiam illi qui possunt habere arcus—habeant, &c." The compilers of the Statute seem to have read "alii" instead of "illi" in the previous writ. But as the writ had already assigned bows and arrows to the holders of 9 marks, the reading "illi" must be correct.

into two classes, (a) those who had between 9 marks and 20 marks, and (b) those who had between 40s. and 10 [*sic*] marks. The former were to have sword, knife, bow, and arrows; the latter were enjoined to have bows and arrows if they could. In the interval between 1285 and our rolls archery had become vastly more important, and it is plain that the Norwich archers were many of them men of good standing. In Wymer, for instance, Thomas de Hethel is followed by two servants, Walter de Berneye by one, William atte Lane by three, Reginald Smith by two. Again, among them are a mercer, a painter, a tailor, a latoner, and even a goldsmith. The latter has the name of one of the wealthiest families in the city. So, too, among the fully-armed men Geoffrey de Hapton takes with him Stephen his brother as an archer.

Even what we should have supposed to be exclusively persons of very small means, those who carried no more than the staff and knife, were evidently not all to be described under that category. If we take the earliest names (after the archers) on the Wymer roll, among those who are thus scantily provided there is a mason, a tailor, a cordewaner, a hosteler. Nor can it be said that their want of better weapons proves their poverty in spite of their occupation, for John de Colney, cordewaner, who is thus armed, has his servant William with him similarly provided. The next man also has his servant with him. Further on, John de Blofeld, "taliour," with only a staff and knife, brings his three servants,¹ Henry, Peter, and Adam, each with similar weapons. So with

¹ The word "serviens" sometimes means "apprentice." But it can hardly have that meaning in this case, and in the Leet Roll of 1375 "apprenticius" and "serviens" are clearly distinguished. These servants would probably not be mere day labourers, but regular members of the employer's household.

many others. It is manifest that if a man was not obliged to provide himself with armour, he might come with the very simplest provision without any discredit.

This mixture of social condition in the lowest rank of the militia organisation need cause no wonder, for the Conesford Roll makes it clear that a section, when at a View of Arms, was composed of all classes of men, with a variety of equipment. A possible explanation suggests itself. A sub-leet from which a separate company was formed was only a small portion of the city, and in many cases of very limited area. All the inhabitants, with few exceptions, must have been known to each other. If within this limited area the sections were taken from still more limited localities, the component members would belong to a comparatively few neighbouring houses and be a sort of family party. Beyond this supposition, however, we cannot go. We cannot identify sections with tithings, for every sub-leet contained at least twelve tithings,¹ which does not harmonise with five sections. Nor could the sections have had anything to do with parishes, for the number of parishes in a sub-leet varied from one to ten. The sectional areas, if they existed, must have been arranged artificially—as a street, or a group of houses.

V.—THE ARMOUR AND WEAPONS.²

A short statement with regard to these will be held sufficient.

The *Head* and *Neck*.—All the armed men without exception had their heads protected with a “bacinnet.”

¹ Hudson, *Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich*, pp. xvi.—xviii.

² This information is chiefly derived from Fairholt, *Costume in England with Glossary*, and Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, vol. ii. I have also to acknowledge some kind explanations received in a conversation with Lord Dillon, President of the Society of Antiquaries.

This was a bason-shaped head covering of metal. It was in all cases provided with an "aventail," the movable front which covered the face and could be raised when not in use. The "umbrer" mentioned in Roll K was an additional piece at the top of the aventail. The fully-armed men also wore a "pisan," which was a metal covering for the neck.

The *Body* armour was rather more varied, but in general consisted of two parts; (a) there was an under garment fitting tightly to the body, and chiefly made of leather. It was called a "doublet," from being of double material stuffed; or a "purpoint," from being quilted and stitched; or an "acketon"; (b) over this was a metal protection, consisting of a "plat" or breastplate. In Roll K a "pair of plates" is mentioned, one in front, the other behind the body. Instead of the plate was sometimes used a "hauberk or haubergeon," a coat of mail. The Centenar of Mancroft had also a "paunse de maille," a shirt of mail worn between the doublet and the plate. The Mancroft armed men have a piece, the name of which is written by Kirkpatrick uncertainly as "braċ or braš." If the former it might be a "breech-piece," which came below the hauberk; if the latter it may be sleeves of mail. Mailed armour was by this time becoming somewhat old fashioned.

The *Arms and Hands*.—The arms were protected by pieces called in these Rolls "bratz," usually brassarts. They are further described as consisting of "vantbras," a piece for the fore-arm from the wrist to the elbow, and "rerebras" from the elbow to the shoulder. They were either of mail or of steel (de ascier). Sometimes as in Roll K a pair is mentioned, i.e., one set for the front of the arm, the other for the back of the arm, which last would be worn inside the sleeve of mail if one were worn. The "coters de fer" of Mancroft and

Roll K were elbow pieces of iron, and, perhaps, the "lunett" once mentioned in Roll K were roundels¹ or discs, which formed part of the "coudiere." On the hands were worn gauntlets of plate or iron ("cerotece de plat," or "de fer").

The *Legs*.—No mention is made of any defence for the legs or feet, perhaps because all the men dealt with were foot soldiers.

The *Surcoat*.—This, which is only mentioned in the Mancroft Roll, must no doubt have been also in use in the other Leets, and furnishes an interesting detail. It is there called "tunic armat² rub," a red tunic of arms. It is included in the armour not only of the officers but of all the armed men. It was worn over the armour, not for defence except to ward off the rays of the sun, but for distinctive ornament, and as the tabard of a herald or knight was elaborately ornamented with heraldic devices. The Norwich colour was red, as here described. We have seen that in 1386 the Assembly ordered that the men at arms, archers, and mariners should have slops and hoods of party-coloured red and white.² No mention is made of any special device. But probably some distinctive armorial bearing was worn, as appears from the item entered on Roll G. "For blasons and spears, £11. 12s. 0d.," which might refer to providing spears or lances for the officers, and embroidering the city emblem on their banners, and also on the tunics of the men at arms. What the emblem was we have no means of guessing.

The *Weapons*.—The only weapons mentioned as carried by the armed men are the spears of the officers, and for the others a sword and "coutell." This latter and the "baculus" were the two weapons almost universally

¹ Hewitt, ii. 166.

² See p. 284.

carried by the unarmed foot soldiers. Their exact character seems somewhat doubtful. In the case of the officers, the "cutellus" was probably a dagger, but among the ordinary soldiers of the local militia it was more likely to be the knife, which was a necessary article of personal equipment for domestic and all other purposes. Similarly the "baculus" or staff may not have been alike in all cases. Sometimes it may have assumed the form of a spear, at other times of a heavy-headed mace or club.

Several forms of axes are mentioned, which may be taken to be implements used in different crafts, as the hatchet (hachia) or the wyax (? a double-headed axe, Latin, "bipennis"). The pole axe (pollex) with its long shaft, and the "spartha," said to be an Irish axe, must have been more specially constructed for offensive use. With these may be classed the "gysarm," which was a scythe-shaped weapon on a long handle.

Two special weapons, both occurring in the Leet of Mancroft, are worthy of notice. 1. Among the unarmed men occur Adam de Porynglond who himself carries a sword and a knife and brings a servant with a knife and staff, and also John Spicer who has a sword and a knife. Both of them were leading citizens, and each of them brought "gunarium cum pulvere," a gunner with powder. These men must have attracted great attention, for firearms were of quite recent introduction in England. 2. The other unusual weapon is perhaps of even more interest to Norwich readers. The very last man on the Mancroft list, and one other some way up, carried a sword, a knife, and a "wefle." This was the weapon carried in later days by the well-known "whiffiers," to whom it gave their name. They walked in the procession of St. George's Guild (which became the municipal procession) in front of the Dragon, and

cleared the way by flourishing their whiffles in all directions. The whiffle has sometimes been described as a sword, but as these two men carried a sword, the "wefle" was evidently the substitute for the "baculus" or staff universally carried by the others.

ROLL A.
A VIEW OF ARMS IN THE CITY OF NORWICH
FOR THE LEET OF CONESFORD, 1355.

Visus armorum coram J. Bardolf de Wermegeie et Sociis suis Justiciariis domini Regis ad Pacem domini Regis conservandam in Comitatu Norff' de Leta de Conesford in Ciuitate Norwici factus die lune proximo post festum sancti Jacobi apostoli Anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu Anglie xxix^{mo} [27th July, 1355].

Constabular' plene armat'.

Willelmus Skie unus constabularius armatus cum dublet plat' bacinett' cum pisan & Aventail & bratz & cerotecis.
Johannes de Causton alter constabularius armatus eodem modo j sagitt'.

Plene armati.

Thomas Cole unus Ballivorum de Norwico armatus eodem modo j sagittar'.
Rogerus Midday armatus ut supra.
Johannes Midday armatus ut supra.
uus. Willelmus de Blibourgh armatus ut supra.
Johannes Bokele armatus ut supra.
Guydo de Burdeaux armatus ut supra.
uus. Johannes Munfort¹ armatus ut supra.²

¹ It is curious that in a deed of 13th March, 1354, the "Exors of John Mounfort" are mentioned. But although the word "dead" is here inserted in the margin, it seems that the armed man so named was really acting as "centenarius" at the date of the heading of the roll (27th July, 1355).

² *Added in another hand, loco suo Robertus Papyngay.*

Thomas de Trows armatus ut supra.

Henricus de Bonynghon armatus ut supra.

Johannes de Boyland armatus ut supra j sagitar'.

Bartholomeus de Reppes armatus ut supra.

Dimid' armat'.

Thomas de Hornyng, vintenarius, armatus cum dublett' plat' bacinett'
cum Avental & cerot' de plat'.

Walterus Whitbred, vyntenarius, armatus ut supra.

Johannes Latimer, vyntenarius, armatus ut supra.

Willelmus de Mundham armatus ut supra.

ffranciscus Spicer, vyntenarius, armatus ut supra.

Nicholaus Stotere armatus ut supra.

Henricus Nogon armatus ut supra.

Gilbertus Sadeler armatus ut supra.

Johannes de Toftes armatus ut supra [plene armatus¹].

Robertus de Melton armatus ut supra.

Thomas Soutere armatus ut supra.

Johannes Bulneys, hosteler, armatus ut supra.

Thomas de Lopham armatus ut supra.

Johannes de Ware armatus ut supra.

Radulfus de Kesewyk armatus ut supra.

Hugo Curejoun armatus ut supra.

Willelmus de Sporle armatus ut supra.

Alexander de Melton armatus ut supra.

Nicholaus de Stoke armatus ut supra.

Sagittar'.

Willelmus de ffretun Arcus sagitt' gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus Hampyng ut supra.

Rogerus Cob ut supra.

Bartholomeus Broun ut supra [armatus¹].

Henricus Skye ut supra [armatus¹].

Walterus clericus ut supra.

[THE SUB-LEET OF CONESFORD.]

[Centenarius.] Johannes Mounfort,² centenarius, armatus ut supra cum hasta & Baner.

¹ Added in another hand.

² In another hand, Jacobus de Bliclyng.

ius.] Thomas de Hornyngg, vyntenarius, armatus cum hasta & pyncell'.

Henricus Noggon ut supra armatus.

Gilbertus Sadeler armatus ut supra.

Johannes Mareschal cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Nicholaus Stotere ut supra armatus.

Johannes de Honyngham wyex gladius & cutell'.

Ricardus Taillour cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Robertus Robleyerd cum baculo & cutell'.

Thomas Potag' cum baculo & cutell'.

Rogerus Gyze cum baculo & cutell'.

Galfridus serviens de Brisele cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de Elmham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Skynnere cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus de Burdeux cum baculo & cutell'.

Simon Prest cum baculo & cutell'.

Adam Glaswrichte cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Thomas Yonge cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Cobeler cum baculo & cutell'.

Edmundus Smith cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus de Peyte cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

rius.] Walterus Smith,¹ vintenarius, armatus ut supra cum hasta & pyncell'.

Galfridus Craddok cum wyex gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Toftes armatus ut supra.

Willelmus de Alderforth cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes Webbestere cum baculo & cutell'.

Robertus Vyne cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Mous cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus Dauber cum baculo & cutell'.

Alexander Derham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus Gerneys cum wyex gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Buri cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de Elmham, taillour, cum baculo & cutell'.

Ricardus Thaxtere cum baculo & cutell'.

Willelmus de Erpyngham cum baculo & cutell'.

Johannes de Bulneys armatus ut supra.

Henricus Bacoun cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

Ric'us Grout, Redere, cum baculo & cutell'.

Rogerus Sappe cum gladio baculo & cutell'.

¹ In another hand, Robertus Papyngay.

Longe Jon cum baculo & cutell'.
 Henricus taillour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Robertus skepperer cum baculo & cutell'.

intenus.] Johannes Latimer, hosteler, vintenus. armatus ut supra cum hasta
 & pincell'.

Robertus de Melton armatus ut supra.
 Willelmus Masoun cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Cobelere cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Hirde . . (?) cum baculo & cutell' [*added, arcu & sagittis*].
 Henricus taillour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Semannus Botman cum baculo & cutell'.
 Petrus Dull cum Gysarm & gladio & cutell'.
 Rogerus Midday armatus supra.
 Thomas Cole armatus supra.
 Johannes Midday armatus supra.
 Willelmus Lakyngheth wyex gladio & cutell'.
 Henricus serviens dicti Willelmi baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Pays cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Love cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de . . . buri cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes de . . . eston cum baculo & cutell'.

[Four more names follow, illegible, all with staff and knife.

Dorse of Roll.

Adhuc de Leta de Conesford.

intenus.] Willelmus de Bliburgh,¹ vyntenus, armatus cum hasta & pyncell'.

Johannes de Bliburgh cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Souter armatus ut infra².
 Thomas of the Pyhtel cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Baroun cum baculo & cutell'.
 Hugo de Brundal cum hachia gladio & cutell'.
 Adam Bultermouth cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus farwel cum hachia gladio & cutell'.
 Walterus Cartere cum hachia gladio & cutell'.
 Johannes Litster cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Clerk cum baculo & cutell'.
 Philippus Bray cum hachia gladio & cutell'.
 Alanus Clericus cum baculo & cutell'.

¹ *In another hand*, Adam Gray.

² "Infra" means "within," *i.e.*, or the front or inside of the Roll.

Johannes Humberlond cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus serviens Willelmi Bliburgh cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Wathe cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Keep cum hachia & cutell'.
 Willelmus Byng cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Willelmus gardiner cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Baxter cum hachia gladio & cutell'.
 Ricardus Baxtere cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes cum wyax gladio & cutell'.

arius.] Johannes Rokele, vintenarius, armatus cum hasta & pyncell'.

Guido de Burdaux armatus ut infra.
 Radulfus de Stoke cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Walle cum baculo & cutell'.
 Henricus de Wylton cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Nicholaus de Chichestre cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Peny cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Johannes Crowe cum baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Chelyng cum baculo & cutell'.
 Nicholaus Gardiner cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Selot cum baculo & cutell'.
 Galfridus de Chichestre cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Willelmus Rokel cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Barfot cum baculo & cutell'.
 Adam Piper cum wyax & cutell'.
 Johannes Mirield cum baculo & cutell'.
 Robertus Mismay cum baculo & cutell'.
 Elyas Botman cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Walterus Bailk cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Walterus de Chestre cum baculo & cutell'.

[THE SUB-LEET OF BERSTRETE.]

*Visus armorum & de hominibus agistatis ad arma
 in leta de Berstret.*

arius.] Thomas de Trouis,¹ centenarius, armatus & cum hasta & cum vexillo.

arius.] Willelmus de Mundham, vintenarius, armatus & cum hasta & pyncell'
 ut infra.

¹ In another hand, Johannes Causton.

PROVERBIO

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Willelmus Streit cum baculo et cutell'.
 Willelmus de Sporle armatus ut infra.
 Johannes Gertmaker cum baculo & cutell'.
 Walterus Clericus arcus sagitte & cutell'.

arius.] Bartholomeus de Reppes, vintenarius, armatus ut infra cum lancea
 & pyncell'.

Walterus de Kesewyk armatus ut infra.
 Stephanus Lecman cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Walsham cum wyax & cutell'.
 Adam de Ely cum . . . & pollex.
 Johannes de Reppes, cordewainer, cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Henricus Taillour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes Spicer cum baculo & cutell'.
 Hamo garlicman cum baculo & cutell'.
 Johannes pottour cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Mariot cum baculo & cutell'.
 Simon Neue de Wyghton cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Knape cum baculo & cutell'.
 Thomas Ladde cum gladio wyex & cutell'.
 Rogerus de Walsham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 Ricardus Hayroun cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus Wet cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Hardelee cum baculo & cutell'.
 Rogerus Noder cum baculo & cutell'.
 Hugo Cursoun armatus ut infra sagittarius.
 Henricus serviens Willelmi de Sporle cum baculo & cutell'.

arius.] ff Francisus Spicer,¹ vintenarius, armatus ut infra cum lancea & pyncell'.

Nicholas de Stoke armatus ut infra.
 Alexander de Opton armatus ut infra.
 Johannes de Ely cum wyax gladio & cutell'.
 Johannes de Tudenham cum baculo & cutell'.
 Willelmus de Banham cum baculo & cutell'.
 Stephanus de ffolsham cum gladio baculo & cutell'.
 cum wyax gladio & cutell'.

Here follow the names of twelve more persons, illegible, of whom one is "armatus ut infra," probably Henricus de Bonyngton on the fully armed list; two others are archers; the rest have a staff & knife, and one a sword also.

¹ In another hand, Willelmus Sporle.

ROLL B. A VIEW OF ARMS FOR THE LEET OF MANCROFT.

Leta de Mancroft.

- Cent. Hugo de Holand,¹ p'poynt brac' paunce de mayle pisan plat' bac' cum
avent' Waunbras & rerebrase Cuters de fer tunic armat' rub'
glad' & cutell' . . . hasta cum uno baner.
- Cent. Will' de Dunston² eodem modo armatus.
- Vin. Rob'tus de Fundenhale³ p'poynt brac' pisan plat' bas' cum avental
cerot' de ferr' tunic' armat' rub' lanc' cum pens' glad' & cutell'.

All marked
'Vin' " and
'eodem modo
armatus."

Thomas Gronger. ⁴	
Will' de Thirkeby.	
Thomas Gerbald.	[Ric' de Bonewell. ⁵]
Will' Tauerner.	
Will' Bakford.	[Hen' Spynk. ⁶]
Hugo Haslack.	[Joh' Ward. ⁶]
Johannes Galon.	
Johannes Dewes.	
Will' Frankys.	[Joh' de Heydon. ⁶]
Gilbertus de Seggefod.	

Plene armati.

Robertus de Bungey plene armatus p'poynt bras' pisan bas' cum
avental Waunbras rerbras Cuter cer' ferr' tunic' armat' rub' glad'
& cutell'.

[Then follow twenty-nine others, armed in like manner.]

¹ *In a later hand is substituted Johannes de Erpyngham. He was almost certainly father of Sir Thomas Erpingham. He lived in Norwich and was Bailiff in 1352 and 1360. He died in 1370, only a few weeks after his father, Sir Robert Erpingham. As his name is here a later addition, the date of the roll is at least some year or two earlier than 1370. The names mentioned occur rather later than those in the Conesford Roll.*

² *Substituted in later hand, Johannes de Welbourn in mercato.*

³ *Substituted in later hand, Johannes Latymer.*

⁴ *These names are all taken from Kirkpatrick's notes.*

⁵ *In later hand.*

Petrus de Weston.	Joh'es de Tilneye.
Hugo de Toftes.	. . . . de Attilburgh.
Thomas de Bumpstede cum j homine armato.	. . . . Sadeler & fil' eius.
Johannes de Welbourn.	Will' de Thurston.
Johannes Plukrose.	Joh'es Warde.
Walterus de Multon.	Rad's Chamberleyn.
Johannes de Erpyngham cum j hom' arm' & ij sagittariis.	Will' Hasger.
Johannes de Elyngham cum j sagit'.	Will's de Bliklyng.
Rog' Hert'.	Galfr'us de Hethirsete.
Petrus de Blickling cum j sag'.	Joh'es de Gnateshale.
Will' de Blakeneye ij hom' arm' cum j sag'.	Rob's de Walcote.
	Galfr'us Sewale.
	Will's de Worstede.
	Henricus de Salle.

Dimid' armati.

Ric'us de Bunwell p'poynt brac' plat' bac' cum avental cer' fer' tunic
armat' rub' glad' & cutell'.

[Then follow twenty-two more names, of which the following can
be deciphered.]

Will's Cobbe.	Joh'es de Hendon.
Thomas Cole, spuriur.	Thos' Scherman.
Thomas de Thirston.	Rob'ts de Bonewell.
Will' Munfort.	. . . . de Stowe.
S . . . de fforsete.	

Sagittarii.

Hen' fforstell arcus cum sagittis glad' cutell'.

[Then follow fifty-six others, all "arcus cum sagittis," including
these names.]

Petrus Pouchemaker.	Will's Pelle.
Ric'us de Poringlond.	Joh'es Tailor de Barsham.
Will' de Leek, taliour.	Will' de Panxford.
Rob'ts Goldesmyth.	Will' de Ely.
Joh'es Hale.	Will's de . . . serviens Ric'i de Bunewell.
Tho's de Multon, tailour.	Ric'us Deuenshire.
Joh'es de Buxton.	Nich'us de Brampton.
Joh'es Gurdon.	Thom' Brundisse.
Ric'us de Bery.	Joh'es Prentisse.
Reginald de Bungey.	

Will' atte Wro.
 Rob'ts serviens Rad'i Chamber-
 layn.
 Joh'es de Dunham.
 Nich's de Beccles.
 Tho's Hosmund.
 Will' ffrere.
 Walt'us Barker.
 Joh'es flynt.

Rob'tus serviens Will'i H asger
 Will's de London.
 Andr' serviens Walt'i Peke.
 Warryle serviens Thom' Shere-
 man.
 John Thurbald serviens Rob'ti
 de Walcote.
 Joh'es de Topcroft.

[*Men without armour*].

[These are about ninety in all. Besides the gunners and the
 bearers of a weffe, almost all of them have "a sword, a knife,
 and a staff." Two of them carry a sword and a "spartha."
 The following names may be read.]

Thom' Puchemaker.
 Edmund Hurlbane.
 John Payn.
 Will's Barker.
 Will' de Holond.
 Philipp' de Besthorp.
 Joh'es Jolyf.
 Joh'es Couper.
 Jacob' serviens Joh'is Welbourn.
 Ric'us de Ely.
 Andr' Couper.
 Joh'es serviens Andr' Bert.
 Laur' serviens eius.
 Adam de Porynglond.
 Joh'es Spicer.
 Will' serviens Ade de Poryng-
 lond.
 Simo serviens Thome Gronger.
 Will' Macobe, taylor.
 Will' Prestsone.
 Barth. de Cossey.
 Galfr'us de Bumpstede.
 Walterus serviens Petri Blic-
 lyng.
 Simo de Carlton.
 Andr' pulter.

Will' de Lynk, tailor.
 Thos' serviens Hen' Spynk.
 Rob'tus Coke.
 Thos' de Biltham.
 Will' de Hegham.
 Roger' de Haldaby.
 Adam Leche.
 Reg' Brokedissh.
 Joh'es Schilling.
 Joh'es Pope.
 Rob'tus fil' Joh'is de Carleton.
 Joh'es Webestere.
 Joh'es kempe, cureyour.
 Hen' le Hirdeler.
 Thos' de Multon serviens Joh'is
 Lothale.
 Walter' serviens Rob'ti de Bone-
 well.
 Walter' serviens eiused' Rob'ti.
 Edmund' de Thirston.
 Rob'ts serviens Will'i ffrenkys.
 Joh'es serviens dicti Will'i.
 Simo serviens Rob'ti Cok.
 Adam Lole.
 Regin' Glouer.
 Joh'es Reder.

ROLL C.
A VIEW OF ARMS FOR THE LEET OF WYMER.

Leta de Wymer.

Rogerus Hardegrey¹, Bartholomeus de Appelyerd.
Jar'. Hugo de Cantele, Galfridus Rust.

[*Plene armati.*]

Joh'es de Hevingham iij hom'
plen' arm' cum iij sagittar'.
Adam serviens eius bac' & cut'.
Joh'es de Oulton.
Will's de Brook cum j sagittar'.
Barth'us Sonman.
Ric'us Fish.
Rob'tus Thurkild.
Joh'es Pere.
Joh's & Steph'us servientes eius.²
Joh'es de Welburn cum j sag'.
Will's frater eius } glad' bac'
Joh'es serviens eius } et cutell'.
Joh'es Gernoun.
Joh'es de Ludham.
Joh'es ffairchild cum j alio hom'
arm' & ij sagittar'.
Petrus ffairchild cum j sagittar'.
Barth'us Appleyerd cum alio
hom' arm' & ij sagittar'.
Rob'ts de Bumpsted cum alio
hom' arm' & ij sagittar'.
Steph'us Silvestre.
Galfr'us de Hapton cum Steph'o
fratre suo sagitt'.

Joh'es Page.
Ph'ippus Cosyn.
Petrus de Bumsted.
Rogerus Hardegrey cum alio
hom' arm' & ij sagittar'.
Simon de Blicling duos hom'
plene arm' & iij sagittar'.
Edmundus Lantorn cum j
sagittario.
Joh'es de Swanton cum j
sagittario.
Will's Reed.
Regin' Cobbe junior.
Will's de Elingham.
Galfr'us Boteler.
Hen' atte Loft.
Joh'es de Berford.
Regin' de Gurmuncastre cum
sagittario.
Joh'es Smeth cum j sagittario.
Walter' de Bixton cum j
sagittario.
Rob'ts de Bixton.
Joh'es de Hanele.
Tho's Stannard.

¹ Of the persons here mentioned, Roger Hardegrey was several times Bailiff between 1337 and 1360; as was Bartholomew de Appelyerd (father of William the first Mayor) between 1355 and 1372. John de Hevingham was Bailiff in 1361, John de Welborne ("in foro" or "mercato") for the first time in 1368; &c.

² Their weapons are not mentioned.

Alicia de Bumpsted j homo plene armatus vidz, Alanus serviens eius.	Tho's & Joh'es servientes eius } bac' & cutell'.
Simon Spenser cum j sagittario.	Rob'ts de Metton.
Tho's Skip.	Nich'us de Snyterton.
Andreas de Sharington.	Will's Gerard.
Rob'ts Thurkil'd.	Hugo de Holond.
Adam Baas.	Will's de Worsted.
Tho's Gotte.	Roger' de Mettingham.
Ric'us Bencelyn.	Will's de Draiton.
	Thos' serviens eius bac' & cutell'.
	Steph'us Siluestre.

[*Dimid' armati.*]

Ricardus de Harpele dimidio armatus vidz haketon plat' bacinett' cum aventail cerotecis ferreis gladio & cutello.	
Galfr'us de Dounham ut supra.	Hen' de Bodekesham.
Jacobus Ive ut supra & Steph'us serviens eius bac' & cut'.	Joh'es Mannyng Rollere.
Ric'us de Worsted.	Petrus de Weston.
Hugo de Cantele.	Joh'es de Weston.
Galfr'us Rust.	Joh'es de Thorpedel', sadelere.
Steph'us de Basingham.	Will's de Horning.
	Rob'ts de Wyke.

Sagittarii.

Ric'us Starling arcus sagitte gladius & cutellus.	
Joh'es Paytrek.	Rad'us Grote.
Nich'us de Baldeswelle.	Nich'us & Ric'us serv' eius.
Tho's de Hethel.	Joh'es Bowyere.
Joh'es & Regin' servientes eius.	Joh'es de Mounteneye.
Walt'us de Berneye.	Joh'es Sterre.
Ricus serviens eius.	Jacobus Smyth.
Adam de Horstede.	Hen' Ropere.
Tho's de Stanhowe.	Rob'ts Bunch.
Will's atte Lane.	Ric'us Deye, pelter.
Joh'es Steph'us & Joh'es serv' eius.	Adam Lompnour.
Joh'es de Erlham, mercer.	Ric'us flecher.
Will's Chaundeler, peyntour.	Joh'es de Tyd, taliour.
Regin' Smyth.	Nich'us & Tho's Torald.
Ric'us & Hugo serv' eius.	Joh'es Trowelove flecher.
	Gilb'tus de Colton, latoner.

Robt's de Bumpstede, goldsmyth.
 Nich'us de Betele.
 Galfr'us de Lound, Bowyere.
 Nich'us atte Water.
 Matheus Sherman.
 Will's de Polham.
 Joh'es Payns.
 Joh'es serviens eius.
 Will's Tut.
 Nic'us Dory.
 Rad's serviens eius.
 Simon Acora.
 Petrus & Joh'es serviens eius.
 Walter' Oysel [? serviens].
 Gilb'tus Berghmakere.

Simon de Colby.
 Roger' serviens eius.
 Joh'es de Topcroft.
 Ric'us & Rob'ts serv' eius.
 Joh'es Wade.
 Ric'us & Joh'es serv' eius.
 Will's de Eton.
 Ricardus of ye Castel.
 Will's de Bernyngham.
 Jacobus frater eius [? serv'].
 Tho's de Hekeling.
 Will's de Bokenham, smyth.
 Joh'es & Joh'es & Hermanus
 servientes Willi'.

[All the above have bows, arrows, sword, and knife, except the
 "servientes," who have only a staff and knife.]

[*Men without Armour*].

[All have "baculus and cutellus," eighteen "gladius" also.
 No other weapons are mentioned.]

Robertus de Stamford, masoun.
 Willelmus Ormere.
 Rudulfus Stede.
 Willelmus Hakeneyman.¹
 Henricus de Banbyri, Taliour.
 Alexander Barkere.
 Johannes de Babewe.²
 Johannes de Colney, cordewaner.
 Willelmus serviens eius.
 Adam Lovelyk.
 Johannes Bonde serviens eius.
 Willelmus Bullok.
 Johannes Osteler.
 Johannes de Hevigham, hosteler.
 Willelmus de Causton.
 Bartholomeus Cook.

Thomas serviens eius.
 Rogerus Malemakere.
 Nicholaus masoun.
 Willelmus de Bonewell, corde-
 waner.
 Johannes Stotere.
 Galfridus Clerk Sanctorum
 Simonis & Jude.
 Johannes de Blofeld, Taliour
 Henricus & Petrus & Adam,
 servientes eius.
 Johannes Coupere.
 Thomas Dyncock.
 Willelmus Monk.
 Walterus Byrch, corayour.
 et Willelmus serviens eius.

¹ "Hackneyman. A man who lets out horses on hire, *Piers Ploughman*, 96."—Halliwell.

² A "John de Babewelle" was admitted to the freedom in 27th Edward III. (1353).

Johannes de Barsham, Taliour
 Thomas Barbour atte Tomlond.
 Johannes de ffresingfeld, Taliour.
 & Thomas serviens eius.
 Johannes Smyth.
 Simon de Carleton.
 & Johannes serviens eius.
 Richardus Currayour.
 Robertus frater eius.
 Rogerus Gurnay.
 Willelmus Ringolf.
 Rogerus Brekemast.
 Johannes Gamage, Pelter.
 Willelmus de Bokenham, Baxster.
 Thomas Tournour.
 Richardus flourbour.
 Willelmus Neusom.
 Thomas atte strete, glover.
 Petrus de Jorn, grauere.
 Thomas de Belagh, latoner.
 Johannes Quilter.
 Radulfus }
 Johannes } servientes Ricardi de
 Adam } Baketon.
 Johannes Clerk, Chaundeler.
 Walterus flogging.
 Ricardus Dugthy.
 Petrus de Walsokene, glover.

Dorse.

Willelmus Corrayour de Cokeye.
 Willemus Tournour.
 Adam Clark.
 Petrus
 Robertus Cotelier.
 Petrus serviens eius.
 Ricardus de Depham, smyth.
 Willelmus Alexander.
 Vincentius & Johannes servi-
 entes eius.
 Simon fullere.

Robertus Peyntour.
 Willelmus Brasyere.
 Henricus de Castelacre, taliour.
 Johannes Boghay, taliour.
 Richardus Scordy, pelter.
 Robertus Shedere
 Bartholomeus Malemaker.
 Thomas atte Mor, cordewaner.
 Johannes serviens eius.
 Jacobus Sheraday.
 Johannes de Melton, flourbour.
 Willelmus de Wykes, taliour.
 Henricus }
 Johannes } Servientes eius.
 Petrus Nnuorde.
 Robertus Hornere.
 Johannes Torald.
 Willelmus Bordclevere.
 Robertus de Massingham, taliour.
 Nicholaus Walterus } servientes
 & Clemens } eius.
 Johannes de Brandeston, shedere.
 Thomas Brown.
 Simon Toche.
 Rogerus de Giselham, shedere.
 Johannes de Lynn, cordwaner.
 Walterus Tailiour de Lakinghya.

Willelmus Maraunt & Thomas
 serviens eius.
 Nicholaus de Sibton.
 Petrus Loksmyth.
 Willelmus serviens eius.
 Thomas Chapman.
 Thomas Skynnere.
 Johannes de Norwyco.
 Bartholomeus Peyntour.
 Bartholomeus Bisshop.
 Willelmus Crampe.

Simon Wryghte.
 Thomas & } servientes Alicie
 Thomas } Brokdissh.
 Rogerus Barkere de Heyham.
 Johannes Gray.
 Bartholomeus de Castre.
 Hugo de Norton.
 Johannes Cowpere in Holtor.
 Thomas & Henricus servientes
 eius.
 Clemens Spicer.
 Robertus serviens eius.
 Laurentius Chaundeler.
 Thomas Rokele.
 Ricardus de Dounham.
 Wilhelmus Bothe.
 Wilhelmus de Tasburgh, taliour.
 Wilhelmus Agaz serviens eius.
 Wilhelmus Shereman &
 Radulfus serviens eius.
 Matheus de Blicling.
 Robertus de Bonewelle.
 Thomas
 Johannes } servientes eius.
 & Jacobus }
 Johannes Snow & Rogerus
 serviens eius.
 Galfridus Webestere de Drayton.
 Wilhelmus Valiaunt.
 Johannes de Catton.
 Johannes de Tonstede.
 Johannes Hoddes & Johannes
 filius eius.
 Johannes Prentys.
 Wilhelmus Robertus } servientes
 & Wilhelmus } eius.
 Ricardus Palfrey.
 Johannes Lambard.
 Johannes serviens eius.
 Rogerus Palmere.
 Johannes Bullok.

Robteler fullere.
 Reginaldus Geyrt.
 Simon Noble.
 Thomas & Wilhelmus servientes
 eius.
 Ranulphus Moreman.
 Robertus Brokedissh.
 Wilhelmus Mirrigo.
 Robertus de Barnham, smyth.
 Ricardus serviens eius.
 Rogerus de Lakenham.
 Johannes Mosse serviens eius.
 Andreas le Millere.
 Johannes de Pekenham, peltre.
 Petrus de Haleseye.
 Rogerus de Castre.
 Wilhelmus serviens eius.
 Adam de Berforth.
 Johannes Bulmerty.
 Johannes de Weston, junior.
 Henricus le Wryghte, carpenter.
 Andreas Gurney.
 Johannes Der.
 David de Marlingford Webstere.
 Richardus de friston.
 Robertus de Eye, taliour.
 Robertus serviens eius.
 Wilhelmus de Erham.
 Robertus peyntor de Suffolk.
 Robertus ye cartere.
 Bartholomeus Daubere.
 Johannes Bisshop.
 Jacobus Taliour.
 Adam Cordewaner.
 Petrus frater eius.
 Alanus Nosere.
 Wilhelmus Bont, plomer
 & Simon serviens eius.
 Johannes de Shotesham, junior.
 Wilhelmus de Bonewelle.
 Johannes serviens eius.

Rogerus de Coseye, maszon.	Ricardus de Loudham.
Robertus de Holm.	& Willelmus serviens eius.
Henricus de Teteshale.	Johannes Jowel.
Rogerus serviens eius.	Johannes Burel.
Johannes Stere.	Herr' de Carleton Webestere.
Johannes de Hedenham.	Willelmus serviens eius.
Rogerus serviens eius.	Johannes de Wychingham.
Ricardus Person, taliour.	Rogerus Daubere.
Thomas Spark Webestere.	Johannes Albon Baxstere.
Johannes de Sweynsthorpe.	Johannes Dun.
Johannes & Johannes } servientes	Alanus de Kerbrok.
Jacobus & Andreas } eius.	Henricus serviens eius.
Hamo Taliour.	Thomas Barburgh.
Radulphus Bert.	Willelmus Sherman.
Nicholaus Skip.	Walterus frater eius.
Johannes de Wakele.	

ROLL D. A VIEW OF ARMS FOR THE LEET OVER THE WATER.

[This Roll is now lost; the following is a MS. analysis made by
Kirkpatrick.]

Ultra Aquam.			
Constabular'.	Roger' Berte. ¹	Rob'tus Spicer.	
	ho'ies armat'.	hom. arm. (in alia manu).	Sagitt'. (in alia manu).
Ric' Spynk - - -	3		3
Joh' But - - -	3		4
Joh' de Welles - - -	1		1
Rob' Spicer - - -	1	(2)	2
Rog' Berte - - -	1		(1)
Will' But - - -	1		(1)
Joh' de Wynterton - -	1		(1)

¹ This Roll would fall within the same period as the others; Roger Berte was Bailiff in 1356 and 1362, Rob. le Spicer in 1357 and 1369.

		ho'ies armat'.	hom. arm. (in alia manu).	Sagittar.	Sagitti' (in alia manu).
<u>Vint'</u>	Joh' de Bastwyk - -	1			
	Pet. Markaunt - -	1			(1)
	Steph' Sturmere - -	1			
	Edm' Alderford - -	2		2	
	Simon de Alemannia -	plene armatus			(1)
<u>Vint'</u>	Joh' Staloun - -	pl' arm'			
	Regin' Cobbe - -	pl' arm'		1	(2)
<u>Vint'</u>	Will' Plomer - -	pl' arm'			
	Nich' Munfort - -	pl' arm'			
	Thos' de Dounham -	1 hom' arm'		1	
	Walter' de Underwode -	1			
<u>Vint'</u>	Rog' de Multon - -	1			
	Rad' de Bungeye Kooe -	1			
	Rog' de Botone - -	1		1	
<u>Vint'</u>	Joh' Hoker - -	1			(1)
	Joh' atte Gren - -	1		1	
	Mag' Joh'es de Cone -	pl' arm'		1	(2)
	Hen' de Playford - -	1 hom' arm'			
	Ad' de Gouthorp - -	pl' arm'			
	Mag' Joh'es de Ely -	pl' arm'			
	Tho' de Eggefeld - -	pl' arm'			
	Edm' de Wyechem - -	di' arm' (1)			
	Rog' Brokedissh - -	pl' arm' (1 &c.)			
	Rob' Heye - -	di' arm'			
	Rich' de Catton - -	di' arm'			
<u>Vint'</u>	Rich' de Dilham - -	1 ho' arm'			
	Joh' Barker - -	di' arm' (1 &c.)			
	Joh' de Gyssyngg - -	di' arm' (1 &c.)			
<u>Vint.</u>	Rog' Halesworth - -	di' arm'			
	Joh' de Eggefeld - -	di' arm'			
	Tho' Interford - -	di' arm' (1)			
	Rad' Lynes - -	di' arm'			
	Will' Swon (al' manu) -		(1)		

N.B.—After all these Armat' & plene armat' & di' armat' foll. 26
Sagittar' more & lastly 81 men omnes cum glad' bacul' & cutell'.

So y^t y^e numb' of y^e men for that Lete were 169.

ROLL E A ROLL OF ARRAY FOR THE LEET OF WYMER.

Arr' fe'a p' mand' J. bardolf & soc' suor' Justic p' mand' dni
Regis & p' [] J. de Welbourn¹ ball'i Norwici & Hugon' de Cauntele
& Ad' Baas Const' de'e Ville & Rob'ti de Bu'psted & Walt'i de Bixtone
de Let' de Wymer Jur' ad Arr' fac' &c.²

Johannes de Hevyngham j homo armatus cum purpont plat' vel
haub' bacinet cum aventail & cerotecis gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Oulton, Adam Baas, Johannes Pere, j homo armatus,
Laurentius Rape.

Johannes de Welbourn [in cueria *added*] j homo armatus cum purpont
plat' bacinett' cum aventail gladio, Ricardus Starlyng.

Johannes ffairchild j homo armatus ut Joh' de Hevyngham. Sufficit in
corpore.

Petrus ffairchild j homo armatus ut Joh' de Hevyngham.

¹ The date of this Roll falls in one of the three years in which John de Welborne ["de Cueria"] was acting as Bailiff. His years of office began at Michaelmas, 1359, 1361, and 1365. It will be observed that Roll H contains a list of armed men sworn to go on the King's service at Easter, 1359. During that year the King was preparing to renew the war with France. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii. 449, is an Order of October 3rd of that year calling upon the "chief men in counties to array all men between 16 and 60—to be ready within their hundreds—under constables—the foot-soldiers in centenaries & vintenaries, armed as in the Statute of Winchester." The Order is witnessed by the "King himself at Sandwich, Oct. 3rd." But in it he is described as "personaliter ad partes transmarinas." Either he was just starting and taking with him the men provided at Easter, or that array had been countermanded and a fresh one was made under John de Welborne, who entered on his office just at the time of this Order. The Wymer Roll (' may record the result of this Order. Hugo de Cantale is mentioned as a Constable in both that Roll and in Roll E, but Adam Baas, the other Constable in Roll E, is not one of those in Roll C, and John Bardolf, who was apparently a Commissioner at the time of Roll E, was not one of the Commissioners appointed under the Order of 3rd October, 1359. All we can say is that if the dates of these Rolls do not actually coincide, they must fall within a very limited period.

² This heading is now almost illegible. It is given as Kirkpatrick copied it when it was not so defaced.

Robertus de Bumpsted j homo armatus ut Joh' Hevyngham. [*in different hand*] Thomas Gotte, Bartholomeus Appelyerd, Rogerus Hardegrey, ij homm'es armatos j sagettarium.

Bartholomeus Appelyerd j homo armatus ut J. Hevyngham, Johannes Page.

Edmundus Lent j homo armatus ut Hevyngham.

Simon de Bliclyng j homo armatus ut Hevyngham Petrus serviens eius.

Rogerus Hardegrey j homo armatus ut Hevyngham Galfridus serviens ipsius Rogeri.

Walterus de Bixton j homo armatus ut Hevyngham, Johannes serviens dicti Walteri.

Reginaldus Herle de Huntyngdon j homo armatus, Edmundus Pilcrowe assignatus ad arma ipsius Reginaldi portanda quia dictus Reginaldus est impotens.

Hugo de Holand, Ricardus bencelyn, j homo armatus, Sharyngton lodham.

Ricardus Bencelyn, Johannes Page, j homo armatus.

Johannes Lothal, Thomas Skip, & Thomas Stannard, j homo armatus Willelmus Stannard loco ipsorum.

Jacobus Ive dimidius homo armatus, Ricardus de Worsted & Hugo de Cantele di' homo armatus, Robertus Skiet serviens Stephani loco dictorum Jacobi Ricardi & Hugonis.

Stephanus Silvestre, Henricus Bodekisham, & Johannes Haul, j homo armatus.

Johannes Gernoun, Robertus de Metton, Thomas flourbour, Johannes de Upton, j homo armatus, & idem Johannes sufficit in corpore ad arma portanda.

Galfridus Cuteler arcus gladius & cutell'.

Johannes Bereford arcus gladius & cutell'.

Nicholaus de Baldeswell baculus gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus Gerard, archer.

Johannes de Weston, archer.

Johannes de Dilham baculus gladius & cutell'.

Gilbertus Berughammaker¹, baculus & cutell'.

Stephanus Basingham gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus de Drayton arcus gladius & cutell'.

Rogerus Metyngham baculus gladius & cutell'.

Willelmus Reed baculus & cutell'.

Galfridus Rust arcus & sagitte.

¹ "Berwham, horse collar, *Prompt. Pare.*" Halliwell. Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, "berhom."

Bartholomeus Bissshop baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes ie Thorpendei baculus & cutell'.
 Jaftrius ie Dunnam baculus & cutell'.
 Ricardus ie Heigeye arcus & sagitta.
 Robertus ie Wykes { baculus & cutell'.
 Bartholomeus Soneman }
 Johannes Lambard, Thomas Hedyngham, baculus & cutell'.
 Clemens fishman { baculus & cutell'.
 Raduiphus Moreman }
 Johannes Payn baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes atte brigg, tanner, baculus & cutell'.
 Willelmus Elyngham { arcus & sagitta.
 Willelmus de Pulham }
 Nicholans Suterterton bacula & cutell'.
 Robertus Thurstild baculus & cutell'.
 Willelmus ie Hornyngg baculus gladius & cutell'.
 Johannes Brok baculus & cutell'.
 Robertus Pykenham baculus & cutell'.
 Henricus Nodel arcus & sagitta.
 Gilbertus Olton baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes Neve, wrighte baculus [? & cutell']
 Johannes baculus & cutell'.
 Johannes Hadenham Baxtere baculus & cutell'.

ROLL F. A SIMILAR ARRAY INSCRIBED ON THE DORSE OF THE LAST ROLL.

NORWIC'.

Arrayacio & Agistacio hominum armatorum & sagittariorum in
 leta de Wymer Civitate Norwici coram J. de Bardolph & sociis
 suis Justiciariis dni' Regis ad arrayand' homines ad arma &
 sagattarios in Comitatu Norff' homines proxime infra
 armati sunt cum purpoys & plattes vel Alketonum & haub'ionem
 bacinetto cum auentaill cerotecis de plat' gladio & cutell'.

Johannes de Hevyngham agistatus & arrayatus est ad unum
 hominem peditem armatum cum purpont platt vel Alketoun
 cum hauberion bacinetto cum aventail & cerotecis de plat'
 gladio & cutell' Et quia idem Johannes impotens est ad
 laborandum ad arma sua portanda loco suo assignetur [—].

- Johannes de Welbourne j homo armatus in forma qua supra, ad arma ipsius Johannis supportandum Ricardus Starlyng.
- Simon de Blicklyng unus homo armatus, loco suo Petrus serviens eius.
- Johannes ffairchild & Petrus frater eius unus homo armatus.
- Rogerus Hardegrey, Robertus de Bumpstead, Bartholomeus Appelyerd agistantur ad duos homines armatos & unum sagittarium, ad dicta arma portand' Galfridus serviens Rogeri Hardegrey Willelmus frater Bartholomei Appleyerd Et sagittarius pro eisdem Robertus serviens Roberti de Bumpstead.
- Walterus de Bixton j homo armatus, pro armatura portanda Johannes serviens eius.
- Ed's Lente & Johannes Page j homo armatus & ad arma supportanda Henricus Ropere.
- Reginaldus de Huntyngdon & Galfridus de Hapton unus homo armatus & ad arma dicta supportanda frater dicti Galfridi.
- Hugo de Holonde & Ricardus Bencelyng j homo armatus & ad dicta arma supportand' Sharpinton.
- Johannes de Oulton, Adam Baas & Johannes fer' j homo armatus.
- Henricus de Bodekesham, Johannes de Hauel, Stephanus Siluestre, . . . ipse Stephanus.
- Johannes Lothal, Thomas Stannard, Thomas Skip' j homo armatus & loco ipsorum Willelmus Stannard ad dicta arma portanda.

Kirkpatrick in his MS. notes after the above adds the following:—

Adhuc ex alio Rotulo qui indentatus est.

Norwicz. Leta de Wymer.

Agistacio & arrayacio hominum ad arma & sagittariorum in Leta de Wymer Civitatis Norwici coram J. Bardolf & Sociis suis Justic' ad homines arrayand' ad arma & Sagittarios in Com' Norff.

Joh'es de Hevingham agistatus & array' ad j hominem arm' cum ppoint, &c. . . . ut supra

& so 11 more much as in manner above & then 11 Sagittarii . . . then 21 men quilibet eorum bacul' and cutell'.

N.B.—These, from last two Rolls, could not be musters of ye whole ward, but rather as I judge were for some expedition.

[The three following Rolls are only known through Kirkpatrick's Notes.]

ROLL G.

Rotulus brevis in Gildhall, sans date.

Armoure.

CONSFORD.	li.	s.	d.
Joh'es Rokele . .	7		
Ad' Midday . .	1	9	
Rog' Midday . .	2	4	
Will' Reed . .	2	2	
Rog' de Melton . .	6		
Will' Skye . .	8		
Joh'es de Causton . .	10		

Sm^a 5 6 2

MANCROFT.

Rob' de Wroxham . .	19		
Hen' Flemyng . .	9		
Joh'es Hert . .	12		
Tho's Baman . .	11		
Will' de Thirston . .	10		
Rob' de Heverynglond	10		
Tho's de Bomstede . .	1	14	
Ric' de Scharwode . .	15		
Joh'es de Erpynggham	10		
Ric' de Porynglond . .	14		
Rob' de Pole . .	10		
Joh'es Emelot . .	8	6	
Will' de Donston . .	4	8	
Joh'es de Penteneye . .	8		
Ad' de Horsford . .	10		
Walt' Baldewyne . .	4		
Steph' de Surlyngham	6		
Will' de Blakene . .	12		
Cat'ina de Ely . .	6		
Will' de Bliclyngge . .	9		

	li.	s.	d.
Will' de Hardynggham	3		
Ric' de Byteryngge . .	4	16	
Hen' Horn . .	6		
Sm ^a	20	10	6

ULTRA AQUAM.

Ad. de Smalbergh . .	4		
Edm' de Alderford . .	13	4	
Ad' de Mondham . .	10		
Galf' Copenote . .	7		
Joh' Urry & Walt' soc	1	5	
Galf. Trotter . .	11		
Ad' Berte . .	11		
Ric' Stalon . .	7	6	
Will' Feliz . .	9		
Rob' Aleyn . .	3	6	
Barth' de Heylesdon . .	6		
Will' de Sturmere . .	1		
Hen' de Heygham . .	9		
Joh' Moner . .	6		
Will' But, senior . .	2	bac'	

(sic) Sm^a 8 5 4

(N.B.—but is only £6 [p 7] 9s. 4d. without 2 Bac').¹

WYMER.

Rad's de Blakene . .	5		
Simon de Bliclyngge . .	1		
Anote de Erlham . .	10		

¹ Two bacinets with aventails at 16s. (see end of the roll) would make this right [W. H.].

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Joh' Athel . . .	1	6	8	Nic'us de Bomsted . . .	2		6
Simon de Takolston . . .	7	2		Will' Mostardman			
Steph' de Basingham . . .	5			Hosyer	5		
Barth' Byschop . . .	8			Barth' de Salle	4	8	
Tho' de Cantele . . .	16			Hug' Brown	2	4	
Tho' de Surlyngham				Andr' de Bixton	1	12	
& mater eius . . .	5			Rob' de Bumsted, Jun.	2		
Johes de Bomstede							
& Petrus fil . . .	8	6					
Galfr' de Surlyngham	6						

In dorso Rotuli.	li.	s.	d.
Will'o fil' Tho' But	2	10	
Steph'o de Neuton	1	6	8
Joh'i de Bery	1	6	8
Joh'i de Spanye		18	
Rog'o Bokelermaker		13	4
10 Dublet	1	11	
	Sm ^a tot'	8	5 8

Sm^a totius armature, £61. 14^s. 6^d. ¹

It. 12^d pro gans de plat.

It. Johi Spanye & Petro de Bomsted 2 bac' cum
aventail pro 14^s.

pro Blasons & Sper's, £11. 12s.

pro fesur' de Boll del Tax di' marc'.

It. 6^d parchemyn.

¹ Kirkpatrick makes the following calculation :—

£.	s.	d.
5	6	2
20	10	6
8	5	4
18	6	10
8	5	8
<hr/>		
£60	14	6

An error of one figure is nothing unusual in mediæval accounts. But surely the account for £8. 5s. 8d. on the dorse of the roll is for money to be paid to armourers and others, not to be received as the rest of the items.

ROLL H.

Nomina hominum armatorum pro Civitate Norwici Juratorum ad
proficiscend' in Servicium dni Regis per mandatum d'ni Regis ad
festum Pasche anno regni Regis Edwardi iijⁱ 33 [Easter, 1359].

	Tho' de Dauentre	APPRECIATORES] ARMATURE ¹
	Barth' Brown,	Rog' Berte.
	&c., &c.	Joh' Staloun.
<u>Vint'</u>	Rog' de Halesworth,	Joh' Gnateshale.
	&c., &c.	Will' Gnateshale.
	Robt' Papyngay,	Tho' Cole.
	&c., &c.	
	in toto 96.	

Sm ^a dublets	9	
„ de plat'	21	al' paria de plat'.
„ de Avental	25	
„ de pisan	22	al' Pysan.
„ de bacinett	24	
„ cerotecar'	19	al' cerotec de plat'.
„ de bra5	20	al' paria de Braaz.

¹ The provision of armour, even on ordinary occasions, cannot have been left to individual discretion. All the armed men in a leet followed the same pattern, but the pattern in one leet differed from that in another. Mancroft, the wealthiest leet, supplied its fully-armed men (p. 302) with more than Conesford (p. 295).—[W. H.].

LES ROLLS NORMANDS ET BRETONS EN APPRENTISSAGE.

	Dublets.	Plat.	Avental.	Pisan.	Basinet.	Cotelet.	Bras.
Ric'us de Byteryng ...	2	...	1	2	1 cu' Av' 1 sine Av' 1 c' av'	...	2 paria cum 2 paribus de Museum. ¹ 1 par de maille.
Tho' de Bumpeted ...	1 haub'ion	1 par	1	1	...	...	2 par de m 1 par de vant- bras & rerebras ascieri. 1 de m.
3 5 0 ³ Joh' But ...	...	2 par'	2	2	2	...	1 par de m.
1 16 0 Joh' de Elyngbam ...	[Sic] +	1 par	1	1	[Sic] +	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
2 16 4 Will' de Blakene ...	...	1 par	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
3 1 4 Edm's de Alderford ...	...	1 par	2	2	2 cu' 2 av' & 2 pis'	1 par de pl'	1 par ascieri 1 par de m.
3 4 4 Barth' Appelyerd ...	1	...	1	2	1 c' av'	1 par	1 par ascieri 1 par de m.
Joh' de Gnateshale ...	...	2 par'	...	1	1 c' av'	1 par	1 par ascieri 1 par de m.
3 11 4 Joh' Pykyng ...	+	...	...	1	1 c' av'	1 par	1 par ascieri 1 par de m.
Bob' Heigh' ...	1	...	...	...	1 cu' av' & pis'	2 paria	1 par ascieri 1 par de m.
2 14 0 Will' de Gnateshale ...	1	1 par	...	...	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
Galfr' Boteler ...	1	1 par	...	...	...	1 par	1 par de m.
Edm' Lent ...	+	1 par	...	...	1	2 par de plat	Avant Bras, rerebras Coters de ferr'.
Simon Spencer ...	...	1 par	...	1	1 cu' av'	2 par de plat	Avant Bras, rerebras Coters de ferr'.
Hen' de Botelsham...	...	...	...	...	1 cu' av'	2 par de plat	Avant Bras, rerebras Coters de ferr'.

¹ I have not found an explanation of this word. It may be mittens or gloves.² These sums may either represent the amount of each person's assessment or perhaps the value of the armour appended to their names. A comparison, however, between such entries as those of Barth' Appelyerd and Joh' Pykyng seems to make the latter explanation impossible.

		Dublets.	Plat.	Avental.	Pisan.	Basinet.	Cerotee.	Bras.
1 1 8	Rog' Midday ...	1	1 par	1	1	1	1 par de plat	
18 0	Tho' Gronger	...	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	...	1 par de m.
1 12 0	Joh' de Toftes	...	1	...	1	...	1 de plat	rebr' vanbras ascari coter & lunett ven ¹ de p.
2 1 0	Rob' Spicer ...	1	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	vanbras rebr' ascari 1 par bras de maille.
2 1 4	Joh' ffairchild	1	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	1 par de m.
1 4 8	Roger de Halesworth	1	1 par	...	...	1 cu' av'	[1 hasta & glad']	-
6 4 8	Joh'es de Welburn ...	2	2 par'	2	2	2 cu' av'	1 par de plat	2 par' de m 1 p' point 1 par vant bras, rebr' ascari.
1 1 4	Will' de Worsted	...	1 par	...	...	...	1 par de plat	
6 8	Joh' Palmere ...	1						
2 9 0	Joh' de Berford	...	1 par	1	1	1	...	1 par de m.
3 0	... ..	1						
2 12 0	Tho' Sherman	...	1 par	...	...	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	vant' bras rebr' ascari.
1 1 4	Joh' Latymer	...	...	...	1	1 cu' av'	1 par de plat	
1 0 0	Andr' Berd ...	...	...	...	...	1 cu' umbrer cu' av'	...	1 par de bras.
4 1 4	Tho' de Bumpeted	...	1 par	2	2	2	1 par de plat	2 par' de m.
2 4 0	Joh' Deux ...	...	...	1	...	1		
2 13 8	Rog' Hardegrey	2	1	1	1	1	1	1 de m.

¹ What Kirkpatrick means by this word I do not know



1

Mannington Hall.

COMMUNICATED BY

R. J. W. PURDY.

THE tourist in this part of Norfolk will not fail to notice the numerous shallow valleys with which its surface is furrowed, nearly all of them watered by small rivulets, that form the tributaries of its two principal rivers—the Bure and the Wensum. If these valleys be traversed only a short distance, most of them will afford a mine of rich information, even to the casual observer, and an inspection of them will throw considerable light on the homes and habits of the former inhabitants of this district.

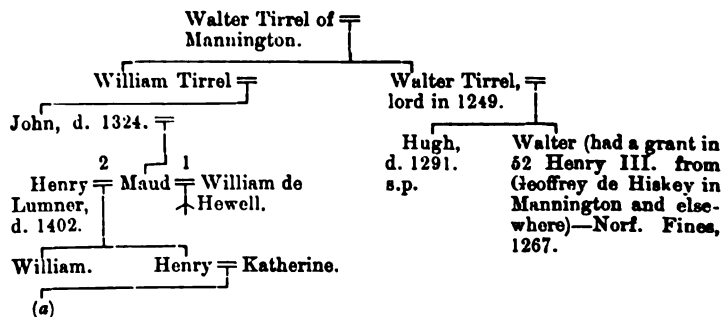
The first thing which strikes one is the number of moated sites that still exist. These are chiefly rectangular, but sometimes round or oval. They are generally sheltered from the north and east by rising ground, and being fed by a rivulet or a strong spring near its source, possess the conditions that rendered them so attractive to our ancestors, viz., warmth, shelter, water supply, and thereby security. It must not be concluded, however, that the buildings, the remains of which are enclosed by these moats, were always of the same date as the excavations around them. It is probable that, in many instances, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, respectively, placed their residences inside a ready-made defence that existed in Roman times, and afforded protection to their cohorts from

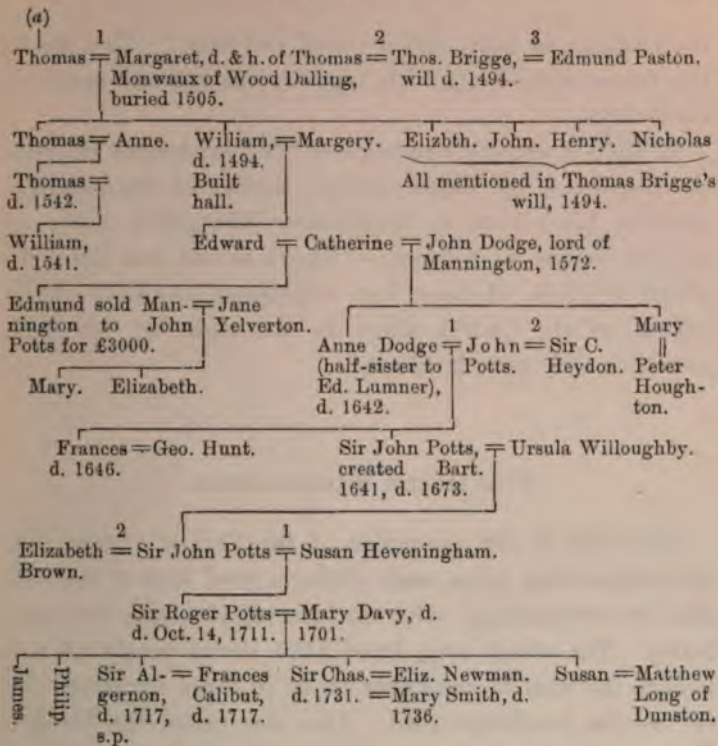
the fierce attacks of the Iceni, a tribe so much dreaded by the Roman conquerors of Britain, that we may with some degree of certainty attribute the comparative absence of domestic Roman architecture in Norfolk to the terror inspired by this warlike people.

The parish of Mannington has for its eastern boundary one of these valleys. On a mound of gravel and shingle, in the most sheltered part of it, stands the time-honoured hall, built by William Lumner, who had a licence from the king, in 1451, to embattle and fortify his house here. The origin of the name of the parish is usually assigned to the Mannings, who were moneyers or mint masters in Norfolk before the Norman Conquest. The chief residents in Mannington, in early days, were members of the families of Tirrel, Potts, and Lumner. In 1274 William Potts was sued by Tirrel, then lord, for encroaching on and appropriating the feed of a certain highway.

The manor, formerly in the Crown, was granted by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to Walter Tirrel, who held it in 1249, from whom it passed through the several owners mentioned in the following pedigree, till the death of Mary, widow of Sir Charles Potts, in 1736, when it was sold to Horatio Walpole, Esq., afterwards Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

PEDIGREE OF TIRREL, LUMNER, AND POTTS.





William Lumner, who built the present hall, was a frequent correspondent of John Paston from 1450 till 1479, as may be seen in the *Paston Letters*, Nos. 93, 156, 348, 399, 847.

The following extract from the will of Margaret Paston, widow, proved May 19th, 1505, in favour of William Lumner, the then owner of the manor, says:—
“He to have all the hangings in the grey chamber over the parlour, within the manor place of Manington, and the great bed with the coverings and hangings which is of tapestry work, also all the hangings of the halls and parlour and all the tables and stools in the haule, with the falletable in the parlour and all the tables and stools in the pantry and all the rede hangings of the rede chamber over

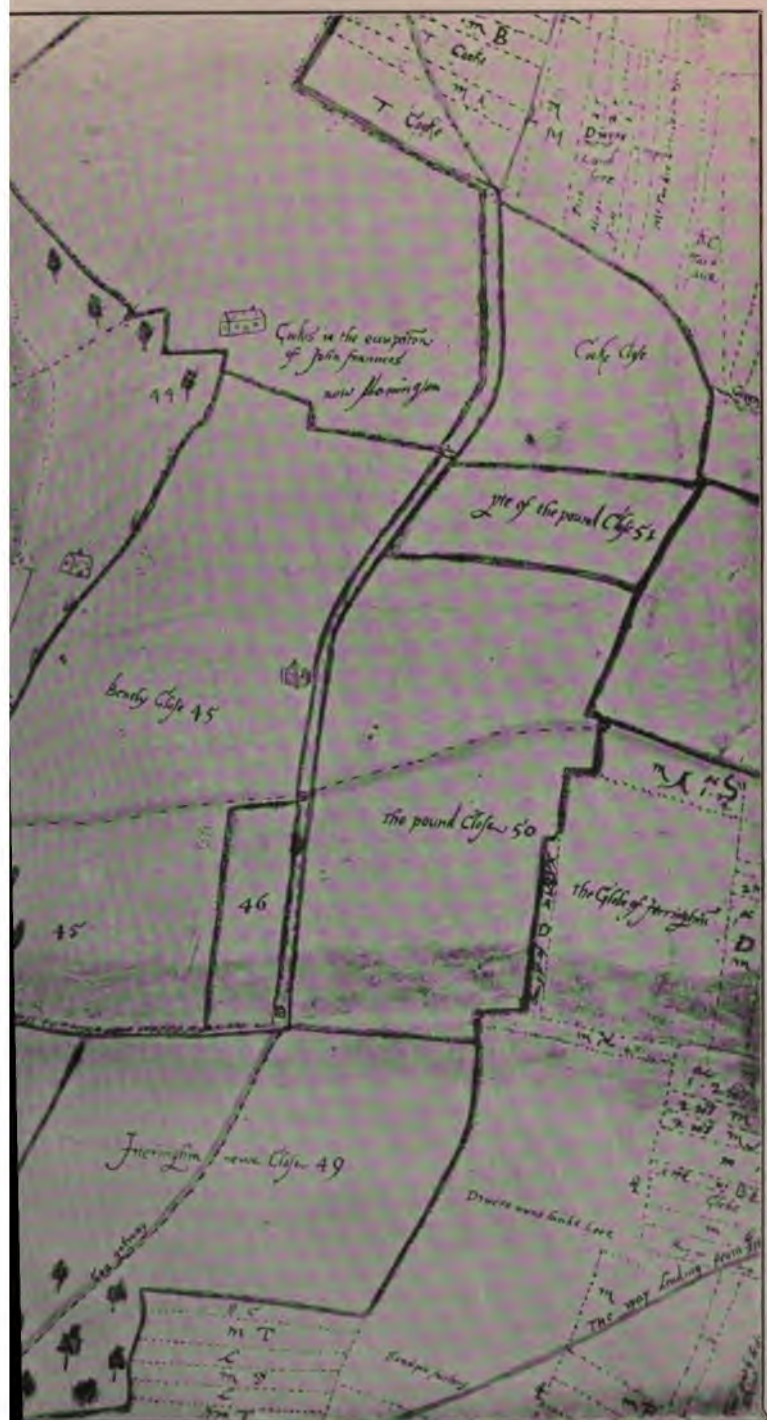
the pantry and botry and a bed of red baze." This shows the rooms were hung with tapestry, as was customary in those days.

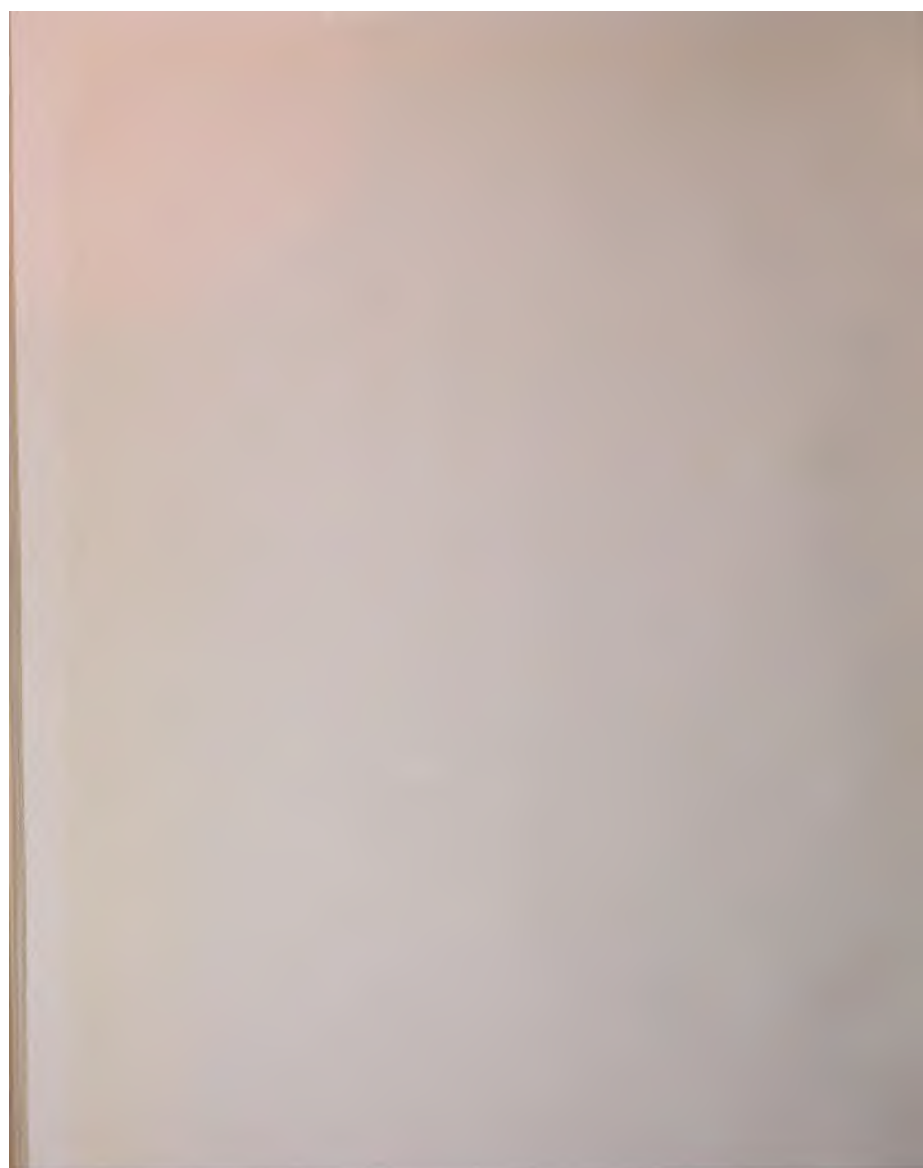
In 1603 it was the residence of Sir Christopher Heydon, as mentioned by Ralph Dodge, Rector of Mannington, who, in his return to Archbishop Whitgrift's letter of enquiry stated as follows:—"There is but one house in which S^r Chrs. Heydon knt. sometimes dwelleth who is patron of the Church there in the right of his ladie sometime wife unto M^r Potts."

THE HALL'S SURROUNDINGS.

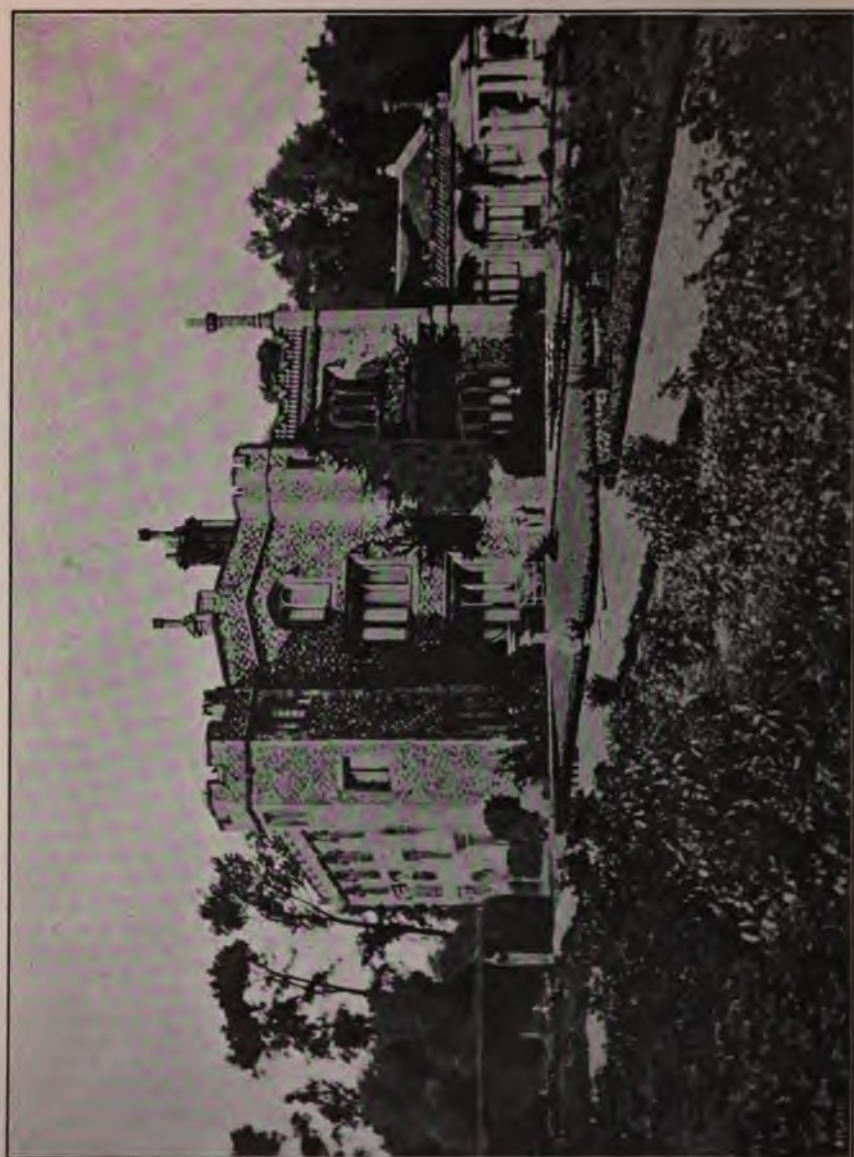
There are in the possession of the Earl of Orford two most interesting maps, each giving a good idea of the hall and its surroundings, with an interval of nearly two centuries. The oldest map, dated 1565, shows nearly all the land to the west of the house to be in large enclosures, as far as the Saxthorpe road. One was called the Sheep's Pasture, others were apparently woodland, East and West Mossimer. On the west side of the aforesaid road was the Mannington heath. Midway between this and the hall a row of venerable oak pollards marks the line of the "Houlte Way" entering the Barningham Road a quarter of a mile east of the Mere, a large pond, from which issues the stream that supplies the moat. This brook was widened into a canal-like arrangement, fitted with three large sluices, probably for the purpose of supplying the house with fish. Outside the moat, at the north-west corner, were two buildings. That on the north side was surmounted by a tower. They were most likely stables and offices to accommodate retainers. They had been removed before the later map was made, in 1742. The sketch of the house within the moat leads us to conclude











that the building was not much larger than it appears on the later map. When that was made, however, great changes had taken place in the immediate surroundings. Windows with brick mullions had been inserted in lieu of the earlier lancets. A homestead, including a large barn and two gardens, occupied what was vacant ground before. The barn had a Decorated string course adorned with moulded bricks taken from the Boleyn house at Blickling, which was demolished to make way for the present stately pile built by Sir John Hobart in 1620 (one of the bricks, impressed with the arms of Fastolf, may be seen in the wall on the south side of the front door of Mannington Hall). A road through an avenue, about a mile in length, from the Saxthorpe road to the drawbridge, had replaced the winding lane leading to the same point. Another road, forming an elongated horseshoe, passed through the farmyards. Half of this has since disappeared. The dove-house still remained, but the canal was gone. Altogether this map represents the typical home of a country gentleman of the eighteenth century.

The view of the hall in the adjoining illustration, taken from a point near the south-west corner of the moat, gives an excellent picture of the towers and battlements, which remain the same as they are represented in the tricked drawing on the earlier map. The tower at the south-east corner of the building contains a recess, cut in the wall of the spiral staircase behind a sliding panel. This is large enough to secrete two persons.

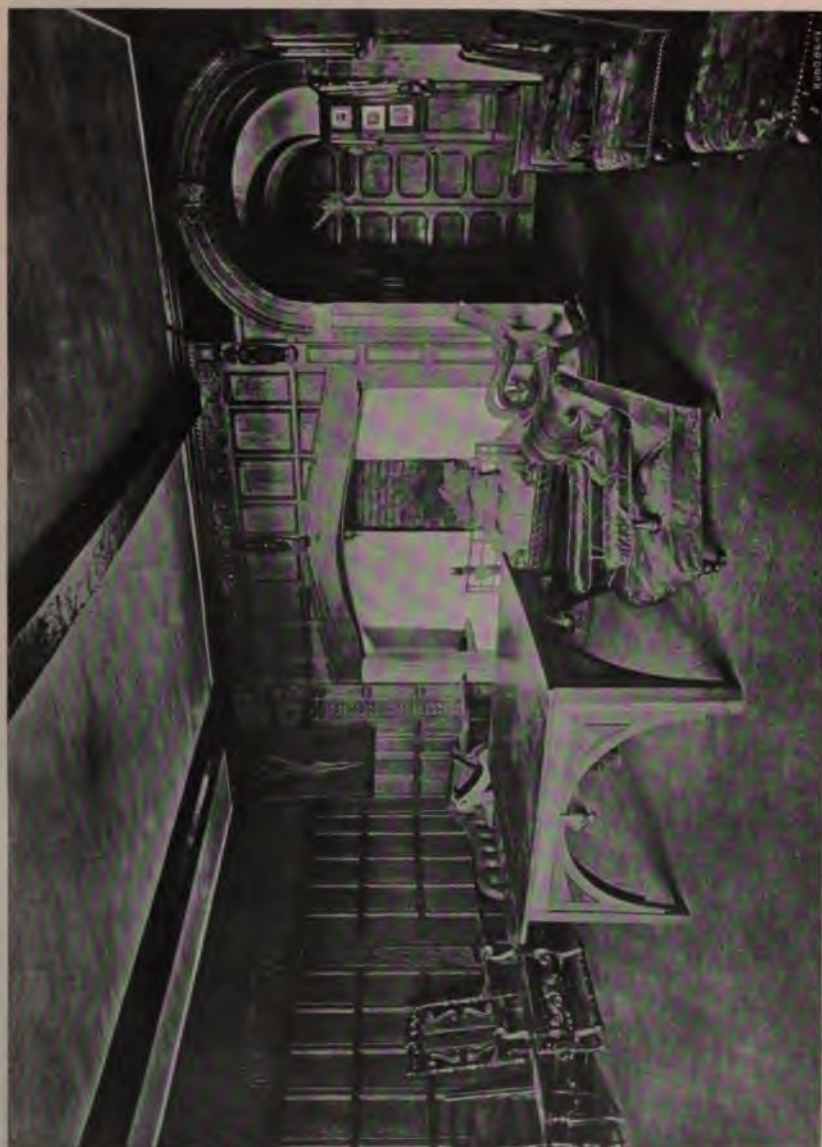
The photograph of the interior represents the original fireplace in the morning-room, which was part of the great hall and was open to the top of the second story, fitted with its minstrels' gallery and other accessories common to dining halls of that date. This room is now enriched with fine oak panels brought from Irmingland Hall, the plinths being surmounted with the badge of the Bacons—

a boar ermine charged with a crescent. A richly-carved overmantel in the drawing-room came from Thwaite Hall. It was said to be part of the debris of the Duke's Palace in Norwich, whose wreck supplied many houses built about the time of its demolition with their best oak carving. The ancient fire-places in the dining-room and the bed-room above it had shields upon them, containing the arms of Lumner, Potts, Monwaulx, Willoughby, Dodge, and Boteler. Some of these have been effaced, apparently by the action of heat on the surface of the Purbeck marble, of which they are composed.

Lord Orford has kindly furnished me with a list of some of the pictures, which, although not strictly of archaeological interest, may be worth mentioning. On the landing are two full-length portraits of George II. and Queen Caroline by Sir Godfrey Kneller, given by the King to Lord Walpole of Wolterton. In the reception rooms are portraits of Sir Robert Walpole and hounds by Wootton, Cardinal Fleury by Rigaud (given by the Cardinal to Lord Walpole), Horace Walpole by Gainsborough, another by Battoni, Countess of Orford (third) and her sister, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, William Faulkener by Russel, Henry Walpole the Martyr, and Henry Walpole the Martyr's father. These, and many others, with a choice collection of miniatures from Strawberry Hill, are well worth inspection.

INTERESTING REMAINS.

Leaving the house, let us now enter the churchyard, on the south-west side of the road, near to which the visitor will notice two circular depressions in the ground. These are the result of the phenomenon mentioned in the *Philosophical Transactions* for January, 1718. It is there stated that on July 23rd, 1717, in the day time, to the



MANNINGTON HALL—INTERIOR.

To face p. 386.



astonishment of those who were present, three oak trees were seen to subside and sink into the earth to the depth of 9 ft. 3 ins., water boiling up in the holes around the trunks. In this charming shrubbery, generally known as the Sanctuary, are many objects of local interest. Some so-called Druids' stones, near the entrance, deserve mention. Their polished surface and glaciated scratchings, once, we may suppose, reeking with the blood of victims offered as human sacrifices upon them, carry us back, in imagination, to ages long before the Saxon tumulus, peeping over the hill behind the hall, was raised in honour of the warrior whose ashes may have been contained in one of the urns, the fragments of which, with the ring, beads, buckles, &c., which may now be seen on the table in the hall library, were found, two years ago, by some workmen carting gravel on the hill close by. The grove beyond marks the site of the house of the De Berninghams of Barningham Parva, where, in 1312, Sir Henry de Seagrave, Sir Hugh Tirrel, and twenty-five others, after illtreating the Lady Petronella le Gros, set fire to the house in five places, from which we may assume it was a building of some magnitude. A bank remains which dammed the water to supply the lord's mill. (This place must not be confused with the home of the De Berninghams of Barningham Northwood, afterwards the residence of the Palgraves, a wing of which, with about half the moat, is still in existence).

In the churchyard are some fine priests' coffins, and beside them a row of holy water stoups. There is the apex of a cross that adorned a fane long since demolished; whilst scattered around are numerous fragments of rich tracery that filled the windows of neighbouring religious houses centuries ago. These, happily, have here found a safe asylum, and are fitting adjuncts to the remains of the modest little church erected by Aymer de Valence,

whose coat—barry of ten, argent and azure, over all ten martlets in orle gules—is 'on a stone shield above the door. This nobleman played an important part in Church work hereabouts, for Corpusty, Saxthorpe, Irmingland, Itteringham, and Barningham Parva owe much in their churches to his munificence. He also founded St. Dunstan's Chapel in Saxthorpe. This was in a field still called Chapel Close, approached from the river by a narrow way called Monks' Lane. His tragic end will be remembered by all, as he fell in a tournament, his wife, Mary de Chattelon, being a bride and a widow the same day.

In taking leave of this fascinating old English home, with its highly-interesting contents and surroundings, whose walls and battlements are mellowed by the lapse of nearly five centuries, we may congratulate ourselves that it has been for many years in the hands of those who have thoroughly appreciated its antiquity by not allowing it to be contaminated by inharmonious surroundings, leaving it to feast the eyes of the antiquary. Let us hope it will so remain for ages longer, to call forth in the archæologist that reverent admiration which can never be roused by inspecting the sumptuous magnificence of the palace of yesterday.

The Hundred of Clacklose and the Civil War.

COMMUNICATED BY

LEONARD G. BOLINGBROKE,

Hon. Sec.

OF "books which are no books--biblia a-biblia," to use the quaint phrase of Elia, none afford so much dull reading as a parish rate book. Its only interest, and that a very doubtful one, is confined to those unfortunates whose names appear within its pages, and its day of reckoning over, it lies neglected in the remotest corner of the official lumber-room until after a peaceful repose of a century or so, it is unearthed by some local antiquary, to whom its pages will reveal the story of the owners and occupiers of the broad lands of the parish.

The Rate Book, however, which Mr. Pratt of Riston Hall has kindly lent to me from his muniment-room, has more than a parochial interest, dealing as it does with the stirring period of our history when King Charles the First and his Parliament were deep in the throes of the Civil War. The book appears to have been compiled by an ancestor of its present possessor, one Edward Pratt of Riston, who was probably acting as constable for the parishes of Riston and Bexwell, in the Hundred of Clackclose. It was his custom to make a note of every warrant or order he received from the Parliamentary Authorities, and from these we can realise how heavy were the charges

assessed upon the various townships of the Hundred, and now and again can obtain some glimpses of the progress of the war as it affected the inhabitants of West Norfolk.

The book does not commence until 1645, in which year on the 19th of July, the inhabitants of Riston and other neighbouring villages were summoned to appear before Sir Valentine Pell and others, at Lynn, to show their "exceptions" against the new rate made for the Hundred and to assist them in making another. We can form some idea what charges had before this time been laid upon the various townships from an account of sums previously paid by the inhabitants of West Dereham. At the commencement of the war in 1642 a sum of £400,000 was required to be raised for the Parliamentary cause, towards which the contribution of West Dereham amounted to £13. 0s. 6d. Blomefield tells us that the weekly contribution appointed by Parliament in March, 1643, to be raised from the county of Norfolk was £1,250, towards which sum West Dereham was called upon to pay £2. 17s. 5d. per month. In January, 1643-4, the weekly sum assessed upon the whole county was raised to £1,875, and the proportion payable by West Dereham was accordingly increased to £4. 7s. per month. The total sum recorded as paid for war taxes by this parish, from July, 1642, to July, 1645, is £92. 1s. 5d., which included a sum of £1 paid on the 11th September, 1643, at the siege of Lynn, for two "pyoners," and a further sum of 10s. for their wages, diet, and tools.

From July, 1645, the various assessments for the southern portion of the Hundred of Clackclose are set forth in greater detail, and for the succeeding five years will be found tabulated as an appendix to the present paper. These tables, while showing what sums were assessed upon each parish, give no indication how the charges affected the individual ratepayer. Let us

see, therefore, whether we can form any estimate of what proportion these charges bore to the income of the ratepayer.

In the months of October and November, 1645, we find that a rate of £25. 17s. 8d. was levied on the parishes of West Dereham and Roxham for the maintenance of the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the proportion of this sum payable by the inhabitants of Roxham amounted to £5. 3s. 6d., which, Mr. Pratt records, required a rate of 8d. in the £. As assessments at the same rate were levied for the succeeding ten months, we see that the inhabitants of Roxham on this item alone must have paid a rate of 4s. in the £ per annum; but concurrently with this assessment were others for the reduction of Newark, for the Scotch, for garrisons, and so forth, which amounted to an additional £59. 15s. 4d., so that the total war charges paid by the inhabitants of Roxham for the year ending November, 1646, must have necessitated a rate of about 5s. 6d. in the £, which makes our 1s. income-tax sink into insignificance.

The foregoing assessments appear only, however, to have been made upon real estate, but by a Warrant dated early in the year 1650, all persons were required to be assessed every three months for their real estates 3d. per £ of their yearly value, or for their personal estates "after the rate of 3d. upon every £20 after this manner, viz., every farmer and owner to be rated for his stock at twice the value of the yearly rent he occupies in lands or real estate, as for example, 'J. D.,' farmer or owner of £40 per annum is to be charged for £80 stock 1s., and after the same rate for a greater or less quantity," and all such persons as occupied stock-in-trade, malthouses, foldcourses, moneys at interest, or any other personal estate more than what the said proportion for the stock of his ground amounted to,

were to be rated after the same rate of 3*d.* upon every £20 of their personal estate.

Let us now turn from the consideration of these rather dull statistics to see what Mr. Pratt's rate book has to tell us concerning the measures taken for the defence of our county, by the raising of troopers and other means.

Early in August, 1645, the following notice was served upon the several Constables of Bexwell cum Riston, Denver, Fordham, Helgay, and Southery:—

“By virtue of a Warrant to me directed from the Right Worshipful Sir J. Hobart, Knight and Bart., and divers others of the Committee of Norwich, and of an Ordinance of Parliament, and severall directions for the speedy sending away of 143 Horses and 72 dragoes to joyne with other forces for the blocking up of Oxford and other garisons adjacent in the enemy's possession, and to keep them from furnishing themselves with means of subsistence, together with the assurance that the trew value of the said horse shal be repayd them againe, according to the aforesaid Ordinance of Parliament. Therefore these are to will and require you that you charge the persons hereunder written to send the sum of £12 for the buying of horse and armes for the 143 horse, and the sum of £6 upon the person hereafter mentioned for the provideing of horse and arms for the 72 dragoons before mentioned, which said mony is by them to be brought to the aforesaid Committee at Swaffham, the 11th of this present August. And if the persons so charged shal send in serviceable light horses they shall be accepted of in part of payment. And for such of them as shall have lately sent in their horses to Grantham, and are againe charged in this list, shal have so much defalked out of the said £12 as the sayd horses and armes were valewed at. And further, I require you to somon in all such as have beene formerly troopers

as are within your severall townes, to appeare at Swafham the 11th day of August next upon the penalty formerly set downe and upon the party harboring of them.

“Your loving friend,

“Ste. Edgar.”

The names of the four persons charged with £12 each were Edmund Skipworth of Fordham, Esq., Francis Badgcroft, Esq., and Mr. Bexwell, both of Bexwell, and Mr. Edward Barbar of Denver, while Edward Pratt was himself the person charged with the payment of the £6.

Things were evidently becoming very serious, for a few days later, on the 26th August, the Constables were required to “warne all persons charged with horse dragones or foot armes, trayned or other, and all other persons having horse fit for service of the State, either for light horses or dragoons, and having any manner of armes fit for offence or defence that they bring in their sayd horse, men, and armes to New Buckenham upon the following Wednesday by nine of the clock, to defend themselves from violence and rapine until other forces of the Parliament came to their assistance, and if any should refuse or neglect their owne and the defence of the State in this time of danger they must expect to be proceeded against for their great disaffection and malignancy by fines, seizures of their horse and armes, and secureing of their persons.” All trained men were also charged to forthwith repair to their colours wheresoever they should be, and every soldier was to have a week’s pay of the owner of the armes. On the 12th September, all persons charged to find light horse were warned to provide themselves of horse and arms complete and in readiness with them for the defence of the county at an hour’s warning.

In response to a warrant, dated 4th October, requiring constables to furnish written accounts of all monies paid

for their several towns for impress money for every soldier impressed, the constable for West Dereham and Roxham furnished the following account:—

						s.	d.
Dec. 15th, 1643.	A soldier impressed by Mr.						
	Vincent for Roxham. To the soldier by						
	the town	13	4				
	Press money and other Constable's charges						
	then	5	0				
May 16th, 1644.	Ri Papworth (?) impressed						
	for Roxham, dd to him according to order	15	0				
	Press money, 1s., the Constable charges 3s.	4	0				
Oct. 27th, 1644.	For pressing a soldier, carry-						
	ing him to Thetford, where he was released	3	4				
	The whole sum	£2	0	8			

On October 15th, 1645, the Constables of Bexwell, &c., were directed by the Right Worshipful Colonel Sir Edward Ashley to warn all the trained horse, in their several parishes, to appear upon the following Friday, at Downham, before Captain Springall, who had been appointed by the Committee of Norwich to take view of the said horse and to return defaulters.

Instructions of a different character, though equally typical of the period with which we are dealing, were issued to the constables by a warrant, dated the 6th March, 1645, wherein they were ordered to carry or send unto the Committee of Norwich all the Common Prayer Books in the several towns, or in default thereof there would be warrants for the levying of 40s. forfeited by each constable.

A warrant, dated 9th May, 1646, required all trained men to appear in their arms at Totenhill Heath, with every man one pound of powder and two yards of match, upon the following Monday, at 9 o'clock, there to be viewed by

Sir R. Hare, Miles Corbet, Vallentin Walton, and G. Gawsell.

On the 29th August, 1646, the Constables were asked to enquire what the charge of "alarms" and bridge watches had been "ever since the time of these unhappy differences."

Mr. Pratt transcribes "my cos Ed. Scarletts (?) note what days his soldiers was forth upon alarms," which runs as follows:—

1643.	Began at Walton Dixon, June 14th,	
	ended July 30th	46 days.
1644.	Walpoole. April 13th, ended ye 21st..	8 "
	Began at Wisbech, Oct. 5th, ended	
	Nov. 5th	31 "
	Walton Dixon	14 "
1645.	Began at Wisbech, Mar. 25th, ended	
	Mar. 29th	4 "
	Began at Wisbech, May 30th, ended	
	June 23rd	24 "
	(when they marched into Lincolnshire).	
	Began at Downham, Aug. 26th, ended	
	Aug. 30th	4 "
1646.	Began at ye bridges, May 9th, ended	
	13th	4 "

Each foot soldier when out on these alarms appears to have received 1s. per diem, payable by the person who was charged to furnish such man and arms, the owner of the foot arms, as he was styled.

By notice, dated the 28th December, 1646, all persons charged with finding trained light horse or foot arms were required to see that they were ready at a day's warning to advance in the public service for the preservation of the peace of this county, and Constables were desired to warn Churchwardens "that they permit not any persons to

preach in the parish churches, who by any way or means assisted or countenanced these unholy wars against the Parliament."

In nearly every village two or three troopers appear, from time to time, to have been quartered on the inhabitants, thus on the 2nd November, 1648, a corporal and two troopers with three horses "came to quarter" at Riston for fifteen days, and on the same day two troopers and two horses were laid upon Roxham, for whose maintenance a rate of 2*d.* in the £ was raised in the latter parish. For every soldier so quartered the Parliamentary authorities however appear to have agreed to allow a weekly sum of 3*s.*

We soon also meet with indications of the misery which a prolongation of the Civil War was sure to bring; thus in January, 1647, the chief inhabitants of the several towns were required to appear personally before Sir R. Hare and Mr. Gawsell at Fincham, to advise and order what course was fitted to be taken for the necessary relief of the poor in this time of scarcity of corn; and again in August, 1648, by a warrant from the Sessions in Norwich, the Constables were required to rate and collect more in every of their towns than they had before for this year 1648, for the hurt, lamed, and maimed soldiers, which sums are hereunder set down, namely 8*s.* 8*d.* upon every town as a benefit.

It would be wearisome perhaps to quote further from this interesting volume, but the foregoing extracts will afford some indication of the nature of the information which it contains. In his *East Anglia and the Civil War* Mr. Alfred Kingston has dealt at some length with the share which Norfolk took in the war as one of the associated counties, but he has only viewed his subject from the national standpoint, while the glimpses which the pages of this rate book afford us are entirely of a parochial nature.

VOL. XIV.]

	Aug. & Sept.		Sept., 1845.		Oct. & Nov.		Dec. & Jan.		Feb. & March.		Total.		Total.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Crimpleham ..	20	18 10	..	..	2	0 5	6	9 5	25	17 8	18	0 0	8	17 4
West Dereham and Roxham ..	22	16 2	..	..	2	0 5	6	9 5	25	17 8	2	0 5	12	18 4
Weerham ..	15	8 7	..	..	..	..	3	17 9	..	..	..	..	17	13 6
Stoke & Wretton ..	20	18 5	..	..	..	..	5	4 0	21	4 0	..	..	10	10 4
Boughton ..	17	13 4	..	..	..	..	3	17 9	..	..	..	..	7	13 6
Barton ..	38	5 0	..	..	..	..	8	10 6	..	..	..	..	17	5 8
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	19	19 10	..	..	..	..	5	4 0	..	..	..	..	10	10 4
Riston & Bexwell .	19	15 6	1	10 0	1	10 0	4	14 0	19	3 6	19	3 6	9	9 9
Denver ..	12	17 0	1	10 2	1	10 2	4	14 0	19	3 8	19	3 8	9	9 9
Fordham ..	9	5 8	1	2 6	1	2 6	3	8 6	13	18 0	13	18 0	1	2 6
Helgay ..	17	18 1	1	10 0	1	10 0	4	16 2	19	13 4	19	13 4	9	14 0
Sothery ..	13	6 11	1	2 6	1	2 6	3	8 6	13	18 0	13	18 0	1	2 6
													6	17 6
													3	8 6

A—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament, dated Feb. 16th, 1644, for raising forces for the defence of the kingdom, under the command in chief of Sir T. Fairfax, by taxing upon the County of Norfolk £7070 per month, for ten months "if the war so long continue," beginning 1st Feb., 1644-5. The proportion for the whole hundred of Clackclose for August and September, 1645, was £278. 1s. 11d. This tax was continued for a further period of six months by an Ordinance dated 13th August, 1645.

B—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, dated August 12th, 1645, for taxing several sums of money upon the Counties of the Association to be employed towards reducing Newark and securing the said Counties, the sums to be reimbursed again out of delinquents' estates. The total of the two moieties charged on Norfolk amounted to £2187. 6s. 8d., of which the proportion payable by the Hundred of Clackclose was £86. 1s. 4d.

	C 3rd assessmt. for 4 months.	A 1646-6. Feb. & Mar.	E For 6 months, from 1st Nov., 1645.	A 1646. April & May.	F 1st moiety.	E For 32 weeks.	G For 1 month.	C 1646. June, July, & August.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Crimplesham ..	.. ..	18 0 0	6 1 6	18 0 0	4 7 11½	8 0 0	.. ..	3 4 6
West Dereham and Roxham ..	6 9 5	25 17 8	8 14 10	25 17 8	6 12 5	11 13 0	0 12 5	4 17 6
Weerham ..	.. ..	15 0 0	5 5 3	15 10 6	3 19 3	7 0 10	.. ..	2 18 3
Stoke & Wretton ..	.. ..	21 4 0	7 2 10	21 4 0	5 6 2	10 1 8	.. ..	3 18 0
Boughton ..	.. ..	15 0 8	5 5 3	15 10 8	3 19 3	7 0 10	.. ..	2 18 3½
Barton ..	.. ..	35 1 0	11 18 8	35 1 0	8 13 6	15 9 8	.. ..	6 17 10½
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	.. ..	21 4 0	7 2 11	21 4 0	5 6 2	10 1 8	.. ..	3 18 0
Biston & Bezwel ..	4 14 0	19 3 6	6 10 0	19 3 6	4 15 8	8 12 8	0 9 2	3 10 9
Denver ..	4 14 0	19 3 8	6 10 0	19 3 8	4 15 8	8 12 8	0 9 2	3 10 9
Fordham ..	3 8 6	13 18 0	4 14 9	13 18 0	3 9 7	6 5 6	0 6 8	2 11 1
Helgay ..	4 16 2	19 13 4	6 13 0	19 13 4	4 18 4	8 17 10	0 9 4	3 11 11
Sothery ..	3 8 6	13 18 0	4 14 9	13 18 0	3 9 7	6 5 6	0 6 8	2 10 11

C—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, dated September 3rd, 1646, for raising £3746 within the Eastern Association for twelve months, beginning 1st June, 1646, for maintenance of garrisons of Newport Pagnell, Bedford, Huntingdon, Lynn Regis, and the Castle of Cambridge. The proportion chargeable on the County of Norfolk for each month was £866. 19s. 5d., and the proportion for four months for the Hundred of Clackclose was £136. 8s. 4d.

D—Levied under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for continuing to raise in the County of Norfolk the sum of £1825. 2s. 4d. monthly for the Scotch. The figures in the above column represent a four months' assessment, the assessment for the whole Hundred of Clackclose for the same period being £275.

	A For 6 mths. from Michs., 1648. 1st moiety.			A For 6 mths. from Michs., 1648. 2nd moiety.			J 12th April, 1649.			K For 6 mths. from 26 Mch., 1649. 1st moiety.			K 4th month.			K 6th and 6th months.			KK For further 3 mths. from 29 Sept., 1649.			KKK For 3 months from 25th Dec., 1649.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
Orringlesham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Dereham and Roxham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39	6	7	8	13	10	17	17	8	26	1	6	26	1	8
Weerham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	1	..	..	15	6	3	..	..	..
Stoke & Wretton ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	19	9	..	..	20	19	3	..	..	..
Boughton ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	1	..	..	15	6	3	..	..	..
Barton ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	10	8	..	..	34	12	0	..	..	..
Beechamwell and Shingham ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	19	9	..	..	20	19	3	..	..	..
Riston & Bexwell ..	19	7	8	19	7	8	19	7	8	0	2	7	29	1	6	6	6	0½	12	12	1	18	18	1½	18	18	1½
Denver ..	19	7	8	19	7	8	19	7	8	0	2	7	29	1	6	6	6	0½	12	12	1	18	18	1½	18	18	1½
Fordham ..	14	0	11	14	0	11	14	0	11	0	2	0	21	1	4	4	11	8	9	3	4	13	15	0	13	15	0
Helgay ..	19	17	5½	19	17	5½	19	17	5½	0	2	11	29	16	2	6	9	5	12	18	10	19	8	3	19	8	3
Sothery ..	14	0	11	14	0	11	14	0	11	0	2	0	21	1	4	4	11	8	9	3	4	13	15	0	13	15	0

K—Raised under a warrant from the Committee of Norwich, by virtue of Letters from the Speaker of the House of Commons, dated 7th April, 1649, and also of an Act of Parliament for raising £90,000 monthly, for six months, for the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland. The monthly proportion on the County of Norfolk for the first three months being £7144. 11s. 7½d., and the proportion on the Hundred £843. 1s. 11d. for the first three months, £183. 6s. 8d. for the fourth month, and £366. 13s. 4d. for the fifth and sixth months.

KK—The assessment for the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland continued for a further three months, the amount assessed on the whole County per month being £4660. and on the Hundred £1133. 10s. 11d.



MANTELPiece AT FAKENHAM.

Mantelpiece at Fakenham.

COMMUNICATED BY

WALTER RYE.

The mantelpiece, of which an illustration is appended, and which differs in style so much from our ordinary Norfolk type, that it may be ascribed to some "foreign" carvers, came from an old Elizabethan manor house which stood near Fakenham, and was the residence of the Gwyn family for many generations, having been purchased from one Christofer Barrett, in 1593, by Rice Gwyn, Barrister of the Inner Temple, afterwards a Serjeant-at-law.

It appears that Mr. Gwyn lived at Snoring Parva until 1612, where he possessed lands, but in 1613 he moved to Fakenham.

No distinctive name seems to have been attached to the house in the earlier period, but on a map of the property, dated 1800, it is called "Barn's Hall," and in Hamond Gwyn's will, dated 1801, it is called "Barns or Baron's Hall." From 1777 it was leased to a Mr. Henry Child, and finally fell into such bad repair that it was demolished in 1812, a new house having been built, in 1804, on a neighbouring site. The chimneypiece was removed to the new house, where it still remains, and no doubt, to preserve it, was painted and varnished; but the oak panneling was sold. Rice Gwyn's portrait, dated 1600, with that of his son is still in existence. It will not bear reproduction,

being too faded, but represents a gentleman in a ruff, with his right hand resting on a boy's shoulder. The inscription is "Anno Dñi 1600—Mass sue (? *Ætat sue*) 48"; and under the boy, "*Æt sue* 11," with the crest and arms of Gwyn quartering Ap Tonwerth.

On the death of Anthony Gwyn, in 1861, the property was divided between the children by his first marriage, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. G. A. Watson of Fakenham.

The arms on the shield to the left are Gwyn, Gules, a chevron between three lions rampant or [attributed to Hwfa ap Cynddelw of Pressaddred, Anglesea, who lived 1130], impaling the same coat for Thorsby.

On the right are :—(1) Gwyn, as before; (2) a chevron between three crows [Ap Tonwerth]*; (3) a chevron between three stags' heads cabossed [Lloyd]†; (4) on a bend three martlets [Wyn]‡.

The following pedigree will show the descent of the property from Serjeant Gwyn :—

<p><i>Rice Gwyn</i> of Bodfeddan, Anglesea (son of John Gwyn of Bodynham, Sheriff of Anglesea, 1542-1577, a grandson of Rhys Gwyn of the same place, who is said to have taken 300 men to Bosworth, and to have been appointed Sheriff of Anglesea for life, 1485), Lord of the Manor of Little Snoring, Norfolk, afterwards of Fakenham, Serjeant-at-law, Recorder of Norwich and Yarmouth, M.P. for Norwich. Died December, 1629.</p>	=	<p>Mary, daughter of Edw. Thorsby of Bocking, Essex.</p>
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<p>Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Lord of Little Snoring. Died between Oct., 1649, and June, 1650, aged 59.</p>	=	<p>Elizabeth Died 29 Oct., 1654 : buried at Heigham.</p>
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(a)

* Hwleyn of Pressaddred married Erddylad, daughter and heiress of David ap Tonwerth.

† Llewelyn married Maroli, daughter and heiress of Jevan Lloyd.

‡ Rhys, Sheriff of Anglesey, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Rhys Wyn. Whether these descents or arms ever existed I am not competent to say.

(a)

Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Lord of Little Snoring. Died (intestate) between 1668 and April, 1669, aged 46; buried at Redgrave. = Alice, daughter of Sir Robert Bacon, Bart., of Redgrave, Suffolk (through whom a Royal descent through Eliz. Stapleton).

Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Lord of Little Snoring till 1674, Oct. 17. Died between April and Oct., 1689, aged 41. = Mary, daughter of Anthony Hamond of South Wootton, Norfolk. Died 13 June, 1721.

Rice Gwyn. = Etheldreda. Died 14 Feb. 1720, aged 44.

Hamond Gwyn = Mary, daughter of Fakenham. D. of Dey Syer of Fakenham. Died 3 July, 1759, aged 74. April, 1747.

Nicholas Gwyn = Rebecca Little of Fakenham. D. Peterborough. 20 Jan., 1798, aged 87. *s.p.*

Anthony, of Pensthorpe. Died 13 April, 1784, aged 65. = Mary, daughter of Wm. Meek of Ryburgh. Died 21 April, 1798, aged 81.

Hamond Gwyn of Pensthorpe, Fakenham. Died 9 Aug., 1805, aged 63. = Frances, daughter and sole heiress of John Pigge of Fakenham. Died June, 1822, aged 70.

Sarah = Anthony = Mary Stedman Gwyn of Fakenham. Mercer, Acton.

Hamond Stedman + Tatham Gwyn, Director of Navy contracts. U. S. America.

Richard Gwyn of Stratton St. Michael. = William Gwyn of Tasburgh. D. 28 June, 1880. Commander R.N., J.P. for County. = Mary, dau. of Edward Batch Rudge of Fakenham.

Hamond Weston = Georgina Gwyn, General, R.M.L.J., A.D.C. to the Queen. C. Harris. Died 18 Jan., 1898.

Elizabeth = Richard = Eliz. da. dau. of S. Postle Gwyn. D. 1851. of Isaac Preston of Yarmouth.

Howard = Edith = Cecil = Basil. Weston B. Born Greig. 1867. Lawrence. Gwyn of Woodhall Spa.

Richard = Hannah Hamond, Spark-hall Rector of S. Repps. Cubitt.

Cyril. + Gerald. Canadian Branches.

Col. Reginald = Henrietta Thorsby Gwyn (now of Bath) Sophia, da. & sole heiress of Isaac Jermy of Stanfield Hall. D. 1870. mar. secondly Miss Mary Johanna Farr Preston, da. of Isaac Preston, Esq., the Dones, Gt. Yarmouth, by whom he has a dau. Mary.

Lionel Tatham. Born 1880. And others.

Reginald Pres- = Isabel, youngest daughter of the ton Jermy Gwyn late Major Nicholson of Thelwell, (Captain, Royal Cheshire. Fusiliers).

Anthony Joseph Jermy Gwyn. Born 1896. And others.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee and at General Meetings.

January 18th, 1899. Committee Meeting. Mr. MILLARD exhibited a carved figure, probably of an angel, holding two keys in his right hand and a church in his left. The carving was believed to have come from a Norwich Church. Mr. Millard also exhibited a bronze or latten seal of Richard Blauwic. This seal was exhibited at a Committee Meeting held on January 2nd, 1873, when Mr. Fitch suggested that the original coat of arms had been erased, and those of the Rev. Dr. Sutton (a former owner of the seal) inserted. The seal, however, had since (December 2nd, 1897) been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, when it was pronounced that not the least appearance of any tampering with the seal was visible.

May 5th, 1899. Annual Meeting. The REV. H. J. D. ASTLEY drew attention to some discoveries he had made recently in the Church of East Rudham, and Dr. Bensly referred to the threatened re-building of the Thetford Town Hall. It was moved by Mr. Hotblack, seconded by Dr. Bensly, and carried, that the Society would view with regret the total destruction of the old Town Hall at Thetford.

January 12th, 1900. Committee Meeting. Mr. Walter Rye was proposed by the President, and elected a delegate to represent the Society at the Congress of Archæological Societies. Dr. Bensly reported that he had been the

previous day at Shotesham Church, and had seen some frescoes which had been discovered there during the recent restoration.

March 30th, 1900. Mr. Walter Rye intimated that he proposed to leave to the Society his very large collection of Norfolk Illustrations, made by the late Mr. J. Smith of 212, Regent Street, London, and which he purchased at Mr. Smith's Sale, on the understanding that the collection should be accessible to the public generally, and Dr. Bensly on behalf of the Society, expressed his appreciation of Mr. Rye's most valuable offer. The Secretary reported the following gifts of books, &c.:—*The Revised Catalogue of the Records of the City of Norwich*, from Mr. J. C. Tingey; *The History of Cawston*, from Mr. George Cawston; *The Brasses of St. Alban's Abbey*, from Mr. W. Page; and a number of engravings of Norwich, from Mr. Alfred Norgate; and votes of thanks were passed to the respective donors.

April 25th, 1900. Annual Meeting. A vote of thanks was given to the Rev. A. G. Legge for the gift of a copy of his book on *The Italian Ancestors of the Legges*.

June 29th, 1900. Committee Meeting. DR. BENSLY reported the recent discovery of a tenth or eleventh century Headstone Cross in the Churchyard at Whissonsett.

December 18th, 1900. Committee Meeting. Sir Peter Eade having presented to the Society a copy of his *History of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital*, General Bulwer proposed a vote of thanks to him for the same, which was unanimously carried.

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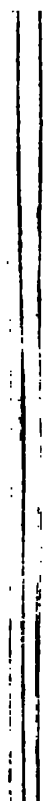
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Hoff, Henry Shouldham Thorpe
Holley, George H. Jesus Coll., Cambridge
Hooper, James 16, Victoria Street, Norwich
Hopper, Rev. Edmund Carles, M.A.
Starston Rectory, Harleston
Hornor, Francis Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich
Hoste, Rev. James William, M.A. Norwich
Hotblack, F. M., Newmarket Road, Norwich
Hotblack, John Turner
Newmarket Road, Norwich
Hovendon, R.
Heathcote, Park Hill Rd., Croydon, Surrey
Howell, Rev. Canon Hinds, M.A.
Drayton Rectory, Norwich
Howes, Miss Alice Norwich
Howes, C. J. A. 36, Havelock Road, Norwich
Hubbard, F. E. Diss
Hudson, Rev. William M.A., F.S.A., Hon
Editorial Sec., 15, Hartfield Sq., Eastbourne
Hunter, Rev. Andrew Johnston, M.A.
Swanton Morley Rectory, East Dereham
- Jackson, A. E. Norwich
Jackson, F. 79, St. Giles' Street, Norwich
Jagg, Rev. Thomas South, M.A., Metton Rectory
Jarrold, William Thomas Fisher
Thorpe, Norwich
Jay, Henry M., M.D., Chippenham, Wiltshire
Jessopp, Rev. Canon Augustus, D.D., F.S.A.,
V.P. Scarning Rectory, East Dereham
Johnson, Frederick
33, Queen's Road, Great Yarmouth
Johnson, Rev. William Cowper, M.A.
Yaxham Rectory, East Dereham
Jones, A. Wansborough Attleborough
Jones, Sir Lawrence, Bart.
Cranmer Hall, Fakenham
Jones, W. H.
Norfolk Chronicle Office, Norwich
- Kemp, Lady Mergate Hall
Kendall, Rev. J. F., M.A., Hempstead Rectory
Kendall, Mrs. Hempstead Rectory
Keppel, Thomas Scole House, Scole
Kimberley, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G.,
V.P. Kimberley Hall, Wymondham
- King, George Alfred
3, Hewitt's Villas, Upper Hellesdon, Norw.
King, Capt. H. B., R.N.
Christ Church Road, Norwich
Knight, Charles C. 10, Stanley Villas,
Pembury Road, Tottenham, N.
- Lacey, Arthur John
Upper King Street, Norwich
Lack, Thomas Lambert
Hingham, Attleborough
Lark, A. E. South Quay, Great Yarmouth
Leach, John Stradbroke Villa, Gorleston,
Great Yarmouth
Leake, H. A. West Winch, Lynn
Lee Warner, Henry, The Paddocks, Swaffham
Legge, Rev. Augustus George, M.A.
Bramdean House, Alresford, Hants
Lemmon, M. Norwich
Lennard, T. B. Horsford
le Strange, Hamon, V.P., Hunstanton Hall,
Norfolk
Lloyd, The Rt. Rev. Bishop, V.P.
North Creaks Rectory
Lombe, E. Evans, Melton Hall, Wymondham
London Guildhall Library London
Lowndes, George Alan
Barrington Hall, Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex
Lucas, Mrs. The Close, Norwich
- MacMichael, Rev. Charles, B.A.
Walpole St. Peter's Rectory, Wisbech
Manby, Allan Reeve, M.D.
East Rudham, Norfolk
Mann, A. H., Mus. Doc.
King's College, Cambridge
Manners-Sutton, Hon. Frederick Seething
Manning, Rev. Charles Upwood, M.A. Diss
Mansel, Colonel Catton
Mansel, Mrs. Catton
Marriot, C. J. B. Great Yarmouth
Marsham, Major Rippon Hall, Hovingham
Martin, Rev. William, M.A.
East Barham Vicarage, Fakenham
Martins, Richard
South Quay, Great Yarmouth
Matthews, Miss The Hollies, Swaffham
Matthews, T. S. Spore
Merriman, Rev. George, M.A.
Martham, Great Yarmouth
Methold, F. J., F.S.A. Shimpling
Thorne Court, Bury St. Edmund's
Methold, Thomas T. Hepworth, Diss
Michell, Rev. Arthur Thompson, M.A.
Sheriffhales Vicarage, Newport, Salop
Middleton, Charles Holkham, Norfolk
Mildmay, Rev. A. G. St. John, M.A., Souththorpe
Miles, John Caley
Norfolk Square, Great Yarmouth
Millard, Rev. Jeffrey Watson, M.A.
Shimpling Rectory, Scole
Mills, Mrs. Surrey Street, Norwich
Minns, Rev. George William Walter, LL.B.,
F.S.A. The Cliff, Weston, Southampton

- Morse, T. H., F.R.C.S. All Saints' Green, Norwich
 Mottram, Mrs. Alfred Heigham Hall, Norwich
 Mottram, James Bank House, Norwich
 Musgrave, Rev. A. G., M.A., Horsford, Norf.
 Musgrave, Mrs. Horsford, Norfolk
- Nelson, Rev. Edward Hamilton, M. A. Necton Rectory, Swaffham
 Nevill, The Ven. Henry Ralph, M.A., Archdeacon of Norfolk, V.P., The Close, Norwich
 Nichols, Mrs. Surrey Street, Norwich
 Nightingale, Mrs. S. Shaddingfield Lodge, Great Yarmouth
 Nightingale, Samuel Somerton, Yarmouth
 Norfolk, His Grace the Duke of, E.M., K.G. Patron, Norfolk House, St. James' Square, London
 Norgate, C. B. le Grys East Dereham
 Norris, W. E. Wood Norton, Norfolk
 North, Charles Roughton Hall, Swaffham
 Norwich, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Patron The Palace, Norwich
 Norwich, The Very Rev. the Dean of, V.P. Norwich
 Norwich—The Library of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich The Close, Norwich
 Norwich—Library of the C.E.Y.M. Society Norwich
 Norwich Mercury, Proprietors of the Norwich
 Nugent, Sir E. C., Bart. West Harling Hall, Thetford
 Nugent, Rev. Edmund Frederick, M.A. Trenyhton, Par Station, Cornwall
- O'Farrell, C. White Horse Plain, Great Yarmouth
 Olley, Henry 28, Regent Street, Great Yarmouth
 Orams, Edward Unthank's Road, Norwich
 Orde, Charles Somerville Hopton, Great Yarmouth
 Orford, The Right Hon. the Earl of Mannington Hall, Aylsham
- Page, Philip Samuel Norwich
 Paget, Sir James, Bart., M.D., F.R.S. 1, Harewood Place, Hanover Square, London
 Palgrave, Robert Harry Inglis, F.R.S. Belton, Great Yarmouth
 Palmer, Ambrose J., Haddiscoe Hall, Norwich
 Palmer, Frederick Danby, M.S.A., Yarmouth Hon. Sec., 38, Hall Quay, Great Yarmouth
 Palmer, W. Danby Shrublands, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
 Panter, Rev. Charles Richard, LL.D. Wickhampton
 Partridge, Charles S. Stowmarket
 Partridge, Rev. Walter Henry, B.A. Caston Rectory, Attleborough
 Pattin, H. Cooper, M.B. Norwich
- Pearce, Miss M. East Dereham
 Pelham, Rev. Canon Sidney, M.A. 18, Chapel Field, Norwich
 Pemberton, Major Mousehold House
 Penrice, Rev. Charles Berners, M.A. Plumstead Parva Rectory, Norwich
 Perfit, R. F. Victoria Road, Diss
 Perowne, The Ven. Thomas Thomason, B.D., Archdeacon of Norwich, V.P. Redenhall Rectory, Harleston
 Petre, Mrs. Westwick
 Phillips, Rev. Forbes Gorleston
 Pigot, Rev. W. Melville, M.A. Eaton
 Pigot, C. B. Norwich
 Pitt, Rev. R. W., M.A. Saxlingham
 Pitt, Mrs. Saxlingham
 Pitts, R. E. Copt Hall, Springfield, Chelmsford
- Pixley, F. W. 23, Linden Gardens, London, W.
 Poix, Edmond de Broome Place, Bungay
 Pollard, J. E. T. Thorpe
 Pollard, Rev. Laurence Giffard, B.A. Thorpe Mansions, Norwich
 Pomeroy, E. B. Wymondham
 Poock, J. A. Tombland, Norwich
 Poole, Rev. J. G. Barton Turf
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp, Bart., M.P. F.R.G.S. Horton Old Hall, Bradford
 Powell, Peter Brunstead, Stalham
 Pratt, Rev. Dashwood, B.A. Barney Vicarage, East Dereham
 Pratt, Edward Roger Murray Ryston Hall, Downham, Norfolk
 Preston, Arthur W., F.R.Met.Soc. Bradeston, Norwich
 Preston, Richard Tonbridge
 Pridgeon, W. R. King's Lynn
 Prior, Mrs. Leathes Christ Church Road, Norwich
 Procter, Rev. Francis, M.A. Witton Vicarage, North Walsham
 Purdy, Robert John Woods Woodgate, Aylsham
 Purdy, T. W. Jesus College, Cambridge
 Pym, Mrs. Radford Chapel Field House, Norwich
- Radford, Rev. L. B., M.A. Forncett St. Peter
 Ram, Rev. E. Norwich
 Raven, Rev. Canon John James, D.D., F.S.A. Fressingfield Vicarage, Harleston
 Reeve, Simms Brancaster Hall
 Rice, Edgar Costessey, Norwich
 Rich, Sir Charles H. Stuart, Bart. Levyl's Dene, Merrow, Guildford
 Roe, Rev. R. Gordon, M.A. Blo' Norton Rectory
 Rogers, Rev. Canon J. E., M.A. Vicarage, Gt. Yarmouth
 Rolfe, Neville H.B.M.'s Consul, Naples
 Rosebery, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G., V.P. 54, Berkeley Square, London, W.

- Rowland, George James
14, Parkdale, Wolverhampton
- Rowley, Rev. H. S., M.A., Wretham, Thetford
- Rudd, Walter R., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich
- Rumbold, C. Dene Side, Great Yarmouth
- Rump, Alfred E.
Rampant Horse Street, Norwich
- Rye, Walter 16, Golden Square, London
- Scott, Rev. H. von Essen, M.A., Eastbourne
- Scott, Walter 29, Grove Road, Norwich
- Sillis, Thomas W.
68, York Road, Great Yarmouth
- Sims, John
25, South Market Road, Great Yarmouth
- Smith, Miss A. G., Albemarle Road, Norwich
- Smith, Rev. Henry, M.A.
Hardwick House, Lynn
- Southwell, T., F.Z.S. Norwich
- Sparks, Henry James
East Bilney Hall, Norfolk
- Spelman, Clement Charles Rix
Unthank's Road, Norwich
- Spelman, Henry
Unthank's Road, Norwich
- Steel, Mrs. J. H. D.
Holly Mount, Blackheath Hill, Greenwich
- Stringfield, G. W.
King Street, Great Yarmouth
- Suckling, Capt. T., R.N. Ramsey, Hants
- Sydney Free Library, N.S.W.
- Tacon, Rev. Richard John, M.A.
Rollesby Rectory, Great Yarmouth
- Tancock, Rev. Osborne William, M.A.
Little Waltham Rectory, Chelmsford
- Taylor, Francis Diss
- Taylor, Frederic Oddin, Tomblond, Norwich
- Taylor, Miss Starston, Harleston, Norfolk
- Teasdel, J. E., Queen Street, Great Yarmouth
- Teasdel, Robert Henry
74, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
- Teasdel, Mrs.
81, Nelson Road Central, Great Yarmouth
- Teasdel, Miss Great Yarmouth
- Thursby, Rev. Herbert Edward
Castle Rising Rectory
- Tingey, F. H. North Runcton
- Tingey, J. C., M.A., F.S.A.
Surrey Street, Norwich
- Todd, John Timothy Chapel Field, Norwich
- Tourtel, Rev. W. E., M.A. Norwich
- Utting, Stephen William Thorpe, Norwich
- Valentine, F. Castle Rising
- Valpy, Rev. Julius John Culpeper, B.A.
Elsing Rectory, East Dereham
- Vores, Mrs. Herbert
South Green, East Dereham
- Wainwright, Mrs. S. Norwich
- Walker, Ernest, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
- Walker, Rev. John, M.A.
Bradwell Rectory, Great Yarmouth
- Walker, T. S. Berry Hall, Walsingham
- Walpole, Spencer C.
10, Strathmore Gardens, Kensington, W.
- Walsingham, The Right Hon. Lord, F.R.S.,
F.P. Merton Hall, Thetford
- Walter, John Henry Drayton, Norwich
- Wansbrough, Rev. Henry Arthur, M.A.
Walsingham Parva, Norfolk
- Waring, W. Tomblond, Norwich
- Warren, Geo. Poole Norwich
- Waters, John Tolver
Nelson Road South, Great Yarmouth
- Waters, William George
7, Mansfield Street, Portland Place, London
- Watt, Rev. George Deans Dundas, M.A.
2, Park Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.
- West, Thomas Scole
- Weyer, W. R. Norwich
- Whayman, Horace W.
Orford, Wickham Market, Suffolk
- White, Rev. Charles Harold Evelyn, F.S.A.
Rampton Rectory, Cambridge
- White, Major T. Sall
- White, Capt. A. V. St. John Sall
- Whitehead, Rev. Edward Ernest Wolf, M.A.
Reedham, Great Yarmouth
- Whitney, Rev. J. P. Milton, Cambridge
- Williams, Charles
Prince of Wales' Road, Norwich
- Williams, Rev. E. N. G., M.A.
Huish Rectory, Pewsey, Wilts.
- Wilson, Miss K. K., Beech Cottage, Swaffham
- Wood, Colonel, C.B.
95, Thorpe Road, Norwich
- Woods, Sir Albert W., Garter King of Arms,
College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
- Woodward, E. B. Norwich
- Worledge, Edward William, M.A.
Albert Square, Great Yarmouth
- Worthington, Miss Janet Lowestoft
- Wright, W. E. West Hall, Middleton, Lynn
- Wrigley, E. Regent Road, Great Yarmouth
- Young, Rev. R. E., M.A. Ade
- Youngman, A. W.
83, St. George's Road, Great Yarmouth
- Youngman, Miss Attleborough

REGULATIONS.

1. THAT the Society shall be called "THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

2. That the objects of the Society shall be to collect the best information on the Arts and Monuments of the County, including Primeval Antiquities ; Numismatics ; Architecture, Civil and Ecclesiastical ; Sculpture ; Painting on Walls, Wood, or Glass ; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs ; Descent ; Genealogy ; Ecclesiastical History or Endowments, and Charitable Foundations ; Records, &c., and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

3. That the Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee of eighteen.

4. That all such Antiquities as shall be given to the Society, shall be presented to the Norwich Museum.

5. That six of the Committee shall go out annually in rotation, but with the power of being re-elected ; and also that the Committee shall supply any vacancy that may occur in their number during the year.

6. That the President, Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer and Secretaries, be elected at the Annual General Meeting for one year, with power of being re-elected, and shall be ex-officio Members of the Committee.

7. That any person desirous to become a Member of this Society, shall be proposed by at least two of its Members, at either a General or Committee Meeting.

8. That every Member shall pay the annual Subscription of Seven Shillings and Sixpence, to be due in advance on the first of January.

9. That distinguished Antiquaries, not connected with the County, may be elected as Honorary Members, at any of the General or Committee Meetings of the Society, on being proposed by two of the Members.

10. That four General Meetings shall be held in the year, at such times and places as shall be from time to time determined by the Committee.

11. That such short Papers shall be read at the Meetings as the Committee shall previously approve of, and that the Meetings shall conclude with the exhibition of, and discussion on, such subjects of interest or curiosity as Members may produce.

12. That the Committee may, on such occasions as they shall think necessary, call Special Meetings by advertisement.

13. That the Accounts shall be audited, and a statement of the affairs of the Society shall be given at the first General Meeting in the year.

14. That the Committee shall meet from time to time, to receive information and make such arrangements as may be necessary, preparatory to the General Meetings. That three shall be a quorum, and that the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

15. That a Short Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Society shall be laid before the General Meeting, and that a list of Members shall be printed from time to time.

16. That all papers deposited in the archives of this Society shall be considered the property of the Society : but that it shall be optional with the Committee to receive communications from Members, who are writing with other objects in view, and to return the same, after perusal, to the author.

17. That the Committee shall have the power of making By-Laws, which shall remain in force till the next General Meeting.

18. That the Committee shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings, at the Society's expense, as may be deemed worthy of being printed ; that each Subscriber shall be entitled to a copy of such publication, either gratis or at such price as the funds of the Society will admit, from the time of his admission ; and to such further copies, and previous publications (if there be any in hand), at a price to be fixed by the Committee ; that the author of such published papers shall be entitled to fifteen copies, gratis ; and that the Committee shall have the power to make such arrangements for re-printing any of the parts of the Society's Papers, when out of print, as they may deem most conducive to the interest of the Society.

19. That the Society in its pursuits shall be confined to the County of Norfolk.



NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE FOR 1898.

READ MAY THE 5TH, 1899.

THE record of the year which has passed since our last Annual Meeting, though otherwise satisfactory, has been marked by more than one untoward event. The Annual Meeting was held as usual in the Guildhall, Norwich, on Wednesday, the 4th May, when Captain King, R.N., read a paper on "Armour and Arms found in Churches," which was supplemented by some further remarks on the subject by Mr. W. H. Jones; while Mr. G. A. King exhibited a series of drawings of the diapering on the robes and vestments of rich baudekin of the saints on the rood-screen at Ranworth Church. In the afternoon the Members assembled in the Church of St. Michael Coslany, which was ably described by Mr. W. H. Jones. An interesting specimen of domestic architecture, now forming part of the Rosemary Tavern and known as the Pilgrims' Hall, was next visited. In drawing attention to its principal features, Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke referred to a similar hall which had then recently been pulled down, situate in Watson's Yard,

King Street, photographs of which he had had taken for the Society prior to its destruction. From Pilgrims' Hall the Members proceeded to St. Mary Coslany Church. It was sad to see the state of ruin into which this fine building has been allowed to fall, and the hope was expressed that it would soon be re-opened for the benefit of the large population amidst which it stands. Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke read a few notes he had collected concerning the Church, and it is satisfactory to record that this visit elicited an offer to transcribe the registers for the Society from Mr. E. A. Tillett, who is so well qualified to do so; an offer which, with the kind permission of the sequestrators, was gladly accepted.

On the 15th and 16th June the neighbourhood of King's Lynn was visited by some thirty Members of the Architectural and Archæological Society of the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham, under the local guidance of Mr. E. M. Beloe, jun. Interesting architectural descriptions of the churches visited were read by the Rev. A. F. Sutton, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, while Castle Acre and Castle Rising were inspected under the able guidance of Dr. Jessopp and Mr. E. M. Beloe, sen., respectively. The Mayor of Lynn entertained the visitors at a *conversazione* in the Town Hall on the evening of the 15th June.

The disastrous fire which occurred at the Norfolk and Norwich Library on the 1st August, unfortunately destroyed a very large quantity of the Society's stock of publications; but the Society has every reason to be thankful that, beyond some damage by water, the valuable collection of transcripts of registers and other MSS. and its library of archæological books and proceedings escaped. The property was insured in the Norwich Union Fire Office, from whom £250 have been received in fair settlement of the Society's claims. All the property of

the Society, including the salvage stock of original papers, has been removed to temporary quarters, and it is hoped, when permanent premises have again been obtained, steps will be taken to render the Society's books more available for the use of Members than has hitherto been the case.

On the 16th August the Society's Summer Excursion took place in the neighbourhood of East Dereham, the Members assembling at North Elmham, where excellent papers were read by the Rev. A. G. Legge, who most kindly came from Hampshire to attend the meeting. The Churches of Brisley, Gressenhall, and Scarning were also visited in the morning, Dr. Jessopp pointing out the principal features at the two latter places. After luncheon at East Dereham and a hurried visit to the Church, the party proceeded to Elsing Church and Hall, being driven back to Dereham in time to catch their trains.

The Society records with satisfaction the progress of the work of reparation of Norwich Cathedral, and especially the unflaking of the nave during the last six months from its numerous coats of whitewash, through the liberality of Mr. Samuel Hoare, M.P. for Norwich, and Mrs. Hoare. The unflaking has been carefully done with due regard to the preservation of the Norman tooling, and has brought to light many interesting features of early work and evidence of the existence in pre-Reformation days of screens, altars, and chapels.

The Society desires to congratulate the Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A., and Mr. J. C. Tingey, F.S.A., on the completion of their labours in preparing the valuable catalogue of the records of the city of Norwich, as arranged in the Muniment Room of the Castle Museum; and also the City Committee of the Norwich Corporation on the publication of the same.

Part 3 of Volume XIII. (which being the concluding part of a volume was accompanied by a full index) has

been issued to the Members for the year 1897; and the first part of the next volume will, it is hoped, soon be in the hands of the subscribers for the year 1898.

Our obituary notices must begin with deep regret at the death of the Rev. Charles Robertson Manning, F.S.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich, who joined the Society soon after its commencement, and for nearly fifty years occupied a prominent position amongst its leading members. From January, 1852, till April, 1895, he acted as one of the two Hon. Secretaries. On resigning his office at the latter date he was appointed a Vice-President of the Society, and in that capacity he took the chair at a Committee Meeting only a few days before his final illness. His antiquarian tastes early developed themselves, and, as an undergraduate at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1846, he published a list of the monumental brasses remaining in England. His contributions to our Society were most numerous and valuable. His first communication is in Volume III. of our "Original Papers," and every volume from that time has contained one or more of his papers. The index to the first ten volumes, which the Society owes to him, shows under his name the great variety of subjects with which he dealt—seals, church architecture, heraldry, fonts, coins, monumental brasses, and, latterly, the church plate of Norfolk and Suffolk. His knowledge of the county and its antiquities made him an invaluable guide in the arrangement and execution of the summer excursions, which form so useful and popular a feature of the work of a local archæological society. Canon Manning was also a prominent Member of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain, as well as a frequent exhibitor of antiquities at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1886, on the recommendation of the Council

honoris causa. He was forty-two years rector of Diss, where he died on February 7th, 1899, in the fulness of years. His kindly disposition and genial manners endeared him to all who knew him, and your Committee gratefully place on record their high appreciation of his services faithfully and ungrudgingly rendered for so long a period to this Society. The Society has also to deplore the deaths of the Rev. Bowyer Vaux, its last surviving Original Member; Mr. J. J. Colman, to whose munificence several local archæological works owe their publication; Mr. H. F. Butcher, whose kind hospitality on one of our Norwich rambles will be in the recollection of many of our Members; Mr. F. E. Watson, at one time a Member of the Committee; Mr. J. R. Bulwer, Q.C., whose father, the Rev. James Bulwer, was so active a Member in early years; Mr. H. S. Patteson, and Canon Du Port.

The retiring Members of the Committee are Mr. Charles Candler, Mr. H. J. Green, Canon Hinds Howell, Mr. Hamon le Strange, Mr. F. Danby Palmer, and Mr. J. C. Tingey, F.S.A., all of whom are eligible for re-election, but the Committee recommend the appointment of Mr. le Strange as a Vice-President, in the place of the late Canon Manning, and suggest the appointment of Mr. W. H. Jones on the Committee, in the place of Mr. le Strange.

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NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1899.

READ APRIL 25TH, 1900.

If the year 1899 did not bring with it the exciting incidents which characterized the preceding year, at least the Society may be congratulated that it escaped the misfortunes which those incidents involved.

The annual meeting was held in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall on the 5th May, the chair being occupied by General Bulwer in the unavoidable absence of the president. The Rev. T. S. Cogswell read a paper on some ancient stone fragments found in Cringleford Church during its recent restoration, while the Rev. H. J. D. Astley drew attention to some discoveries he had made in the church of East Rudham. Mr. Cogswell's paper appeared in the Part of our Society's Transactions issued to the subscribers for the year 1898. In the afternoon a visit was paid to the nave of Norwich Cathedral, when Dr. Bensly gave a full account of the various discoveries made during the progress of the work of unflaking the stonework. This paper will appear with illustrations in the forthcoming part of the Society's papers.

The summer excursion took place in delightful weather on the 20th July, the picturesque country west of Cromer being the district selected. After a short halt at Cromer Church, the party proceeded to Beeston Church, where Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke read a few notes on Runton and Beeston, extracted for the most part from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Runton Stubbes. A paper was contributed by Mr. E. M. Hansell, on the Beeston Priory Sheep Walk, the Priory itself being the next place visited. Luncheon having been served at the Grand Hotel, Sheringham, the members were next driven to Weyborne Priory, where a most interesting paper was read by Mr. W. H. Jones on the conventual buildings. From Weyborne the party drove to Sheringham Church, and thence to Felbrigg Hall, where the members were most hospitably entertained by Mr. R. W. Ketton. The necessity of returning to Cromer to catch the trains unfortunately prevented the party from inspecting the celebrated brasses in Felbrigg Church or the curious pits at Aylmerton.

While during the past year several interesting old houses have been removed in order to widen here and there the streets of Norwich for the purpose of the new tramways, some compensation may be found in the picturesque views opened up of the Castle from Orford Hill and of St. Michael-at-Plea Church from St. Andrew's Broad Street.

It is with regret that the Society learns that the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society contemplates the destruction of a portion of the palace of the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, with a view to the erection of additional offices on the site.

The subscribers for the year 1898 have received the first Part of the 14th volume of the Society's Transactions, and the second Part is now in preparation for issue to the subscribers for 1899.

Although no portion of our own county was visited, yet

mention should be made of the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in the sister county of Suffolk, which was attended by many of our own members. With Ipswich as its centre, the Institute made excursions to all the most interesting places in the neighbourhood. The Yarmouth branch of our Society, inspired doubtless by the visit of the Institute, held an excursion during the autumn to Framlingham and Dennington.

The Norfolk and Norwich Library having once more taken possession of its old premises on Guildhall Hill, Norwich, after the disastrous fire of the previous year, our Society's library and stock of transactions are now once more stored in their old quarters. A new book-case has been purchased, and our books are now accessible to our members in the committee room of the Library. Several series of publications have been re-bound, and others are now in the binder's hands.

During the past year the Society has lost several members by death, among whom we may mention the Rev. Canon Hinds Howell, for many years a member of the Committee; the Rev. Canon H. Browne, a frequent attendant at our excursions; and Mr. W. J. J. Bolding, who possessed a most extensive knowledge of the archæology of the district in and around Weyborne.

Mr. R. J. W. Purdy has been elected to fill the place on the Committee vacant by the death of Canon Hinds Howell. The retiring members of the Committee are Dr. Batley, Sir Peter Eade, Mr. Bosworth W. Harcourt, Mr. E. Evans Lombe, Canon Raven, and Mr. Walter Rye, all of whom are eligible for re-election.

Dr. Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account. Cr.

[illegible]

Examined and found correct, April 24th, 1900,
PHILIP BACK, Auditor.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1900.

READ MAY 15TH, 1901.

WHILE during the twelve months which have elapsed since our last annual meeting the members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, in common with the nation at large, have mourned the death of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, the Society has suffered a more personal loss by the lamented death of its President, the late Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A. If not an original member, Sir Francis Boileau was at least one of the earliest to be enrolled within the ranks of the Society, and had ever since evinced a very keen and ardent interest in all archæological pursuits, a taste which he undoubtedly inherited from his father, the late Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., who was the first President of our Society. In 1889 the late Dean Goulburn retired from the office of President, and Sir Francis Boileau was unanimously elected his successor, a position to which he has since been annually re-elected. Not only did he take an active share in the work of the Society, but he was a very regular attendant at the committee meetings

and excursions held during his term of office. For some time past his health had gradually been failing, and the Society has on several recent occasions had to deplore his absence from meetings on this account. His death occurred on December 2nd, 1900, and at a meeting held a few days afterwards the Committee expressed, on behalf of the Society, their deep sympathy with Lady Boileau and her family.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on the morning of April 25th in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, Norwich, the chair being taken by General Bulwer, Vice-President. At the conclusion of the ordinary business the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary of the British Archæological Society, read an interesting paper on the subject of the Briefs recorded in the two earliest Register Books of the Parish of Syderstone. In the afternoon the members assembled in the Church of St. Gregory, where the Rev. J. W. Hoste read a carefully-compiled paper upon the church. Thence the members proceeded to the Church of St. John Maddermarket, where they were received by the Rev. W. Busby, who quoted some interesting extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts, commencing with the year 1557. A visit was afterwards paid to the Strangers' Hall, which had recently been purchased by Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, at whose hands it has undergone a careful reparation. Here Mr. Bolingbroke read a paper on the history of the Hall, after which the members visited the several rooms and partook of afternoon tea.

In the evening of the same day a lecture was given at the Strangers' Hall, in conjunction with the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society, by Dr. Plowright of Lynn on the subject of "Woad."

The summer excursion of the Society took place on August 9th, when a large number of members and their

friends attended, despite the inclemency of the weather. After a brief visit to Aylsham Church, upon the history of which the Rev. Canon J. Gurney Hoare, the Vicar, read some interesting notes, the party drove to Heydon Hall, where they received a cordial welcome from General and Mrs. Bulwer. General Bulwer here read a short historical account of the Hall, and drew attention to the valuable collections of portraits, armour, &c., with which the Hall is enriched. The members then adjourned to Heydon Church, on which a scholarly paper was read by the Rector, the Rev. B. J. Armstrong. After luncheon at Saxthorpe and a hasty visit to the church, the carriages proceeded to Mannington Hall, the seat of the Earl of Orford, where a paper was read by Mr. R. J. W. Purdy, which it is hoped will appear in the next part of the Society's Transactions, and the members and their friends partook of the kind hospitality provided by the Earl and Countess. On the return journey to Aylsham a short visit was paid to Blickling Hall, where the party was most kindly received by the Marchioness of Lothian.

On September 6th, the Great Yarmouth Branch of the Society had an Excursion to Fressingfield Church and Wingfield Church and Castle, which were ably described by Canon Raven, D.D., F.S.A.

Part 2 of Vol. XIV. of the Society's Original Papers has been issued to the members for the year 1899, and the concluding Part of the volume will soon, it is expected, be in the hands of the members for 1900.

In addition to the loss of Sir Francis Boileau, the Society has to deplore the deaths of several other members, notably, those of the Ven. Archdeacon Nevill and Mr. Philip Back. The former was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, and was the author in early life of an interesting pamphlet on the subject of Kett's Rebellion. Mr. Back, who for many years had acted as Hon. Auditor

of the Society, was an active member and a constant attendant at its meetings and excursions. His hospitality to the members when they visited his interesting mansion, Curat's House, in the Haymarket, Norwich, will long be remembered by those who were present. By the death of Mr. G. C. Eaton another familiar face will be missed from our meetings, while the late Mr. Pridgeon of Lynn, an old member of the Society, was Mayor of Lynn on the occasion of the Society's visit in 1892, and most hospitably entertained the members.

During the past year further progress has been made with the re-binding of volumes in the Society's library, and special mention should be made of the kindness of our sister society in Suffolk in completing, as far as it lay in its power to do so, our series of its Proceedings.

The retiring members of the committee are Mr. E. M. Beloe, F.S.A.; the Rev. Edmund Farrer, F.S.A.; the Rev. J. W. Millard; Mr. James Mottram; Mr. R. H. I. Palgrave, F.R.S.; and Mr. Charles Williams, all of whom are eligible for re-election.

Dr. **Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account.** Cr.

1900.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Balance at Messrs. Barclay's Bank—	...	...	...	...	...	...
General Account	...	3	5	6	...	...
Deposit Account...	...	351	13	10	...	21 3 10
" "Boileau Legacy"	...	100	0	0	...	15 2 2
			454	19	4	36 6 0
„ Subscriptions—						50 0 0
1 for 1886	...	0	7	6	...	...
4 for 1887	...	1	10	0	...	...
17 for 1888	...	6	7	6	...	4 0 0
51 for 1889	...	19	2	6	...	...
231 for 1900	...	86	12	6	...	15 0 0
11 for 1901	...	4	2	6	...	3 10 0
			118	2	6	22 10 0
„ Sale of Publications—						6 13 6
Original Papers	...	0	15	0	...	3 5 10
Emblems of Saints (damaged copy)	...	1	0	0	...	0 8 0
			1	15	0	0 9 0
„ Messrs. Barclay's—						1 1 0
Interest on Deposit Account	...	10	5	1	...	0 10 0
						12 12 0
„ Expenses of Meetings	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0
Postage Stamps and Carriage	...	...	...	...	...	2 2 0
Advertisements	...	...	...	...	...	...
Insurance	...	...	...	...	...	...
Norfolk and Norwich Library—Use of Room	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gratuity to Guildhall Keeper	...	...	...	...	...	...
Assistant Secretary's Salary	...	...	...	...	...	...
Subscription to Congress of Archaeological	...	...	...	...	...	...
Societies	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ On Account of Copies of Registers of St. Mary	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ouelany, Norwich	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ Balance at Messrs. Barclay's Bank—						...
General Account...	...	...	...	...	...	36 5 8
Deposit Account...	...	...	...	...	...	311 18 11
" "Boileau Legacy"	...	...	...	...	...	100 0 0
						448 4 7
						£2585 1 11

Examined and found correct, 4th September, 1901,

G. W. G. BARNARD, Auditor.



*Congress of Archaeological Societies in Union with the
Society of Antiquaries. July 11th, 1900.*

Notes on the Systematic Study OF OUR ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES.

By J. HORACE ROUND, M.A.

I HAD the honour, some years ago, of reading in this room before the Society of Antiquaries, a paper on the Settlement of the Saxons in Essex and Sussex, in which I dwelt on the great value of the study of Place-names for our early history, and urged "the practical impossibility of accomplishing any scientific work in this department of research until the place-names of England have been classified and traced to their origin."* I ventured then to express the hope that we might see "this urgent work undertaken, county by county, on much the same lines as those adopted by the Government in France. It seems to me," I added, "to be eminently a subject for discussion at the Annual Congress of Archæological Societies." Consequently, when Mr. Nevill suggested that the time had now come for the Congress to take up some fresh work, I brought forward this subject, and it received at once the Committee's approval. Since then the British Museum has rendered a great service to antiquaries by the publication of an index to the place-names contained in

* This paper has since been printed in my *Communa of London and Other Studies* (Archibald Constable and Co.).

its rolls and charters, for which it is claimed that one of its "chief points of interest and value lies in the evolution of modern place-names from the early forms found in the oldest documents." Here, then, we have the first step that has been taken in this country towards such an undertaking as I hope to see carried out.

There are two grounds on which the present time is peculiarly suitable for putting it in hand. The first is the great increase, of late, in the available material, owing to the publication of records by Government, by societies, and even by individuals; the other is the change that, in this generation, is passing over the face of the country. I am confirmed by the Deputy Keeper of the Records in the belief that the new edition of the Ordnance Survey omits ancient place-names that were still to be found in its predecessor. Railways alone have done much in shifting the balance of population, in reducing the importance of old villages, and causing new ones to spring up; and agricultural depression is affecting the map as surely as the conversion of arable into pasture in the agricultural revolution of the 16th Century; the great towns, again, are rapidly absorbing and effacing villages of which the names may be found even in Domesday Book. As an expert on this subject observed to me last week, antiquaries two generations hence may be seeking the origin of a district's name, which was really given by a speculative builder who called it after one of his daughters. Some changes in nomenclature are due to a subtler cause; the too ingenious antiquary has much, I fear, to answer for. In Worcestershire, Ab (or Hab) Lench kept the name it possessed in Domesday down to the other day, but has now become Abbot's Lench, having never, to my knowledge, had anything to do with an Abbot. In Northamptonshire, the "Holewelle" of Domesday remained undisturbed till, promoted to an ecclesiastical district, it became Holy Well. In Essex, our Society, last year, visited Stow Maries, which is known to have derived its name from the family of Marice or Morice, and discovered it beginning

to blossom out into Stowe St. Mary, the change, which began on the Church bills, having already reached the sign posts. As ecclesiastically-minded ladies would say, the new names are much "nicer," but they breathe the spirit, I venture to think, of Church restoration at its worst.

Now these examples have a real moral, a lesson that we need to bear in mind. The influence on our place-names of folk-etymology has been far greater, probably, than is supposed. If such changes as these I have glanced at are possible even at the present day, what could not be effected when all spelling was uncertain, and when maps were as yet unknown? for folk-etymology has been always with us, and the too ingenious antiquary is no modern phenomenon. Even Henry of Huntingdon could hardly mention a place without proceeding to explain the meaning of its name; and Robert of Gloucester explained that Colchester derived its name from King Coel. Colchester proved itself worthy of the tale, and showed not only his statue and his sword but even his "kitchen" and his "pump." It is now proposing to place his Arms on its new Town Hall, having, I observe, obtained them for the purpose from "Heralds' College, London."

It is on account of the influence of this folk-etymology that I dispute the claim of the philologist to explain place-names by his laws. His laws fail from the same cause as the laws of political economy; they ignore the human element. I have observed that if you tell a philologist what a place-name originally was, and what it is now, he will produce a law with a long name which accounts for the change to perfection, but if he is not supplied with that preliminary information, his laws are by no means a sure guide to the modern forms of an ancient name. Let me cite, from a single county, two instances as a test. The name of Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire, suggests that there must have been some other Chaddesley in the county from which it had to be distinguished. And research will show that in the 12th Century there actually was such a place, which appears as "Chaddesleia." But this latter

place has now become "Chaceley," while the other remains "Chaddesley." So, again, the "Biselege" of Domesday has become "Bisley," in Gloucestershire, while in Worcestershire, some ten miles off, it has become "Bushley," a fact which, even now, proves confusing to students. It is obvious that no philological "law" can account for name-developments so different as these.

Cognate to the process of folk-etymology is that marked tendency of our people to introduce the syllable "ing" into place-names which did not contain it. In the Paper to which I have alluded I dwelt on the enormous importance attached by such scholars as Kemble, Stubbs, Green, and Canon Taylor, to the existence of *ing* in place-names as evidence of clan-settlement, and I pointed out that, even apart from other possible criticisms, the scientific study of our place-names would prove that in many cases the *ing* was a mere corruption. A curious instance came before me only the other day. The City of Hereford appears in Domesday as "Hereford port," but a Worcestershire Hereford, by the addition of "tun," becomes Herefordtun, and in Domesday "Herferthun," and finally by a process of corruption "Harvington." Nothing at first sight could be less likely than the true derivation of the name, and Kemble accepted its present form as proof that the place was the home of the Harvings, or as he termed them the Horfingas. By a no less strange corruption the "Widemondefort" of Domesday, the "Withermundeford" of charters, became our Essex Wormingford. The name, of course, was claimed by Kemble as evidence of its settlement by a Worming clan, but we have got beyond the clan now; we have discovered the totem, and we run him for all he's worth. The Wormings, therefore, are claimed as totemists, sons of the Worm, and as you must never eat your totem, we discover that this interesting clan cannot have lived on a diet of worms. You may think that I am jesting, but Mr. Grant Allen, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, included Wormingford among the place-names leading to "the almost

resistible inference that at some earlier period the Anglo-Saxons had been totemists.”*

I have tried to bring home to you, by actual instances, the strange theories, historical and other, to which students have been led by the change and corruption in place-names; and in the Paper to which I have referred I have shown how, largely through the influence of Kemble, their erroneous derivation has affected our views on our early history. In doing this, it has been my object to plead for their systematic treatment in the belief that such treatment will not only save us from much error but will enable students to arrive at conclusions of great importance. They can hardly be expected at present to work out for themselves the history of every name with which they are called upon to deal. So brilliant a scholar as Professor Maitland has observed, for instance, in his great work on *Domesday Book and Beyond*, that Amport, Hants, derives its suffix from having been at some early date a port or market town. Now it can be shown that this place was in Domesday simply Anne, and derived its suffix “port” from the Norman family of de Port, which then held it, and which was itself named from Port-en-Bessin. There are many other interesting cases of English names incorporating those of foreign families or individuals. If our place-names had received scientific treatment as in France, scholars would have ready to their hands the whole material in a trustworthy form instead of being driven, as now, to guesswork, or to virtually prohibitive toil.

The mere collection of local names on a scale as exhaustive as possible, will prove that some of the oldest are now among the least known. Manors of great antiquity have often vanished from the map, while the names of others may only be preserved by a farm, by a wood, or by a lane. The ancient names of our Hundreds, often now obsolete, call for special attention, representing as they sometimes do, the meeting place of primitive settlers. And, to turn to a later time, the coming

* *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, p. 81.

of alien lords is recalled by the names of the castles they erected at "Montacute" and at "Pleshy," at "Richmond" and at "Belvoir."

As to the method of the treatment to be adopted, I do not propose to deal with it in detail, but rather to elicit from this Congress an expression of opinion that the work ought to be taken in hand. Should it be pleased to refer the subject to a Special Committee, the whole matter could be carefully considered and a scheme of work drawn up for uniform adoption throughout the country. For that such work should be uniform. I need scarcely say, is essential.

I referred at the outset to the lines adopted by the Government in France as a guide to ourselves in the matter. French scholars are justly proud of the *Dictionnaire Topographique de la France comprenant les noms de lieu anciens et modernes*. This great undertaking is printed at the national expense, and describes itself as "published by order of the Minister of Public Instruction and under the direction of the Historical Works Commission." But the system is strictly a local one in practice, inasmuch as it is carried out department by department. Moreover, the assistance of a local society, if one exists, is secured, and the volume produced under its auspices by some qualified Scholar. In this series an introduction to the volume deals with the geography, geology, history, and ancient divisions, ecclesiastical and administrative divisions, and so forth of the department. But the body of the work consists of its place-names in alphabetical order. Hamlets, manors, fiefs, farms, streams, hills, and similar objects are included, but not mere field-names.* The essential feature, however, is that the date and the authority for each form of the name cited is given, as is done with all words in our New English Dictionary. Alphabetical lists are given, for reference, of all the sources of information employed,

* Genuinely ancient field-names are often of great interest, but the modern ones, of little or no value, now swamp them.

printed and manuscript, and formidable lists they are. A "table des formes anciennes," that is, the Latinised forms, for cross reference, completes the volume.

We should, I think, certainly retain the above essential feature in any scheme we may adopt, but should add, when well established, those peculiar local pronunciations which are now rapidly being lost. And I would make the further suggestion that certain selected sources of information* should be systematically read for the purpose by volunteer helpers, as has been done to supply the material for the New English Dictionary. Those who are willing so to assist should inform their local society, and might perhaps enlist others. We are so rich in mediæval records that we should not only illustrate the origin and history of existing names, but bring, I believe, to light many that are now forgotten. Lastly, I desire to make it clear that the scheme I suggest will not comprise philological speculation. It aims only at collecting the evidence in a trustworthy and scientific form, a process which, in many cases, will suffice to guide us to the origin of a name.

My own work has lain so largely among records of the 12th and 13th centuries that the need of the work I am advocating is continually brought home to me. The Deputy Keeper of the Records, to whom I spoke lately on the subject, told me that he thought the idea excellent, and I think we might fairly reckon on the approval of the Public Record Office, which is doing so much itself, by its noble series of Calendars, to illustrate our local history and identify our ancient place-names. In the striking words of Professor Maitland: "The map of England is the most wonderful of all palimpsests, could we but decipher it," and it is because I agree with him that much of our history that is still dark is written in the names that our remote forefathers gave to their English homes that I ask you, as a Congress, to express the

* Some printed works are not trustworthy for the purpose.

opinion that the scientific treatment of our place-names on a uniform system throughout the country is a task that ought to be taken in hand, and that is likely to prove of high value for the knowledge of our early history.

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